

# National Civic Review

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October 1959

Volume XLVIII, No. 9

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Goes to Voters



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## National Civic Review

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## **News of the League**

# **Challenge of '60s Is Theme**

Theme of the 65th annual National Conference on Government at Springfield, Massachusetts, November 15 to 18, will be "The Challenge of the Sixties."

The basic changes anticipated during the next decade, which will begin a scant seven weeks after the conference—in technology, fiscal problems, population patterns and other vital matters—will be dealt with in five general sessions in which small panels, one each morning and one each on two afternoons, will seek to come to grips with the problems which will face local, state and national governments.

The major sessions will be supplemented by a series of workshops which will explore such questions as partisan versus nonpartisan local elections, performance budgeting, the city manager in small villages, regional planning, fair campaign practices and the role of civic associations.

Among the speakers in the general sessions will be Frank C. Moore, former lieutenant governor and former state comptroller of New York; Congressman Ken Hechler, West Virginia; Charles P. Taft, former mayor of Cincinnati; J. C. Thomson, former chairman of Northwest Bancorporation; Victor Gruen, architect-planner; Luther H. Gulick, president, Institute of Public

Administration and former city administrator of New York; Philip Hauser, authority on population, University of Chicago; and Robert C. Wood, author of *Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics*.

Governor Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon, the nation's youngest governor, will speak at the November 17 luncheon, and Senator Leverett Saltonstall will be a speaker at the annual dinner the same evening.

### **Long Service Honored**

Thomas C. Desmond, a former member of the League's Council, recently received the New York Young Republican Club's award for "outstanding civic service." Senator Desmond, a manufacturer in Newburgh, New York, served in the New York State Senate from 1931 through 1958 and was widely known for his sponsorship of legislation to improve public administration and election methods.

### **Reid Addresses Mayors**

Thomas R. Reid, League regional vice president and director of civic and governmental affairs of the Ford Motor Company, addressed the United States Conference of Mayors in Los Angeles on urban renewal problems.

Philip Hauser



Charles P. Taft



Frank C. Moore



Luther Gulick



Mark O. Hatfield



## Two Chicago Leaders Elected

Two prominent Chicagoans have been elected officers of the National Municipal League by the executive committee to fill vacancies.

Robert S. Cushman, a partner in the law firm of MacLeish, Spray, Price and Underwood and mayor of Highland Park, was elected regional vice president to succeed James C. Worthy, vice president of Sears, Roebuck and Company.



Robert S. Cushman



Curtiss E. Frank

Curtiss E. Frank, president of The Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, was elected a member of the League's governing council to succeed the late Earl Kribben, vice president of Marshall Field & Company.

Mr. Cushman, a former president of the Chicago Civic Federation, is chairman of the policy committee of the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois. He was formerly chairman of the State and Local Taxation Committees of the Chicago and Illinois Bar Associations and was a member of the Council on Taxation of the American Bar Association. In 1952 he was chairman of the committee that led the campaign for the revenue amendment to the Illinois constitution and in 1956 he was vice chairman of the committee.

Mr. Frank, who has been with The

Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation since 1949 when he was appointed vice president and general counsel, was a former member of the New York law firm of Hughes, Hubbard & Ewing. He served as assistant United States attorney for the southern district of New York in 1931-32, as a member of the city council of Yonkers, New York, in 1942-43, and was elected mayor of Yonkers for three terms from 1944 to 1949.

He is a trustee of the National Probation and Parole Association, a director of the United Charities of Chicago, a member of the planning council of the American Management Association General Management Division, a member of the Citizens Board of the University of Chicago, and a trustee of Colgate University.

### ***Senator to Deliver First Loeb Lecture***

Senator Gale W. McGee of Wyoming has been named the first lecturer sponsored by the Therese M. Loeb Tribute Fund, which was established by the St. Louis League of Women Voters in memory of Mrs. Virgil Loeb, long time civic leader of that city and former member of the National Municipal League's Council.

Senator McGee, a former educator in the fields of history and political science, will present his lecture November 4 at Washington University in St. Louis.

### ***Addressees Accountants***

Robert H. Fouke, League regional vice president, recently addressed the California Society of Accountants. He also served as parliamentarian for the National Industrial Advertisers Association.

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## **Editorial Comment**

### **Lawson Purdy 1863-1959**

**I** DISLIKE contentiousness," our former president, Lawson Purdy, used to say. "It doesn't accomplish anything; it only tightens snarls."

But there in 1916 he faced an official commission organized to consider regulating the heights and bulks of buildings in New York City. The real estate fraternity was hostile to governmental interference with any man's right to build what he pleased on his own plot. Socialism! Ruination! It was well represented on the commission. Contention was waiting to explode. Purdy, the city's esteemed tax gatherer, looked around the lion's den, waited for the right moment and obtained quiet attention. "Let's all agree," he said, "to propose no regulations that do not enhance the values of the properties affected!"

"Enhance values? Do you mean it?" "Yes," said Purdy. "It will, for instance, enhance residential neighborhood values to protect them from ruinous invasions by filling stations or shops. . . . Let's begin that way and see if we don't get somewhere on that principle!"

Down the table faces changed. Fiery speeches, constitutional doubts, conservative scorn faded out unspoken. Well, they'd try it. The talk turned creative and amiable. Within the hour, as Purdy masked his smile, constructive work began. Eventually as their interest grew in their task, members did diverge where necessary from Purdy's proposed standard. The outcome was the first zoning ordi-

nance in America, pioneer of a practice that is now all but universal in our cities, profoundly stabilizing the tax bases and reducing the hazards of home ownership. An era started by one wise phrase!

Again, on an ocean steamship, Purdy met the mayor of a Pennsylvania city where, with some connivance by Purdy in prior years, the tax rates on buildings had been gradually reduced to half the rates on land. Purdy, a valiant follower of Henry George, inquired how it was working. The mayor denied that his city had any such practice and it was with some difficulty that Purdy convinced him. It had been introduced so gently and without contention.

"Now that," said Purdy drily to some fellow single-taxers later, "is the way I like to do things!"

In this, our farewell acknowledgment of indebtedness to him,<sup>1</sup> we remind our old-timers that Purdy's presidency of the National Municipal League covered the period of the consolidation of the National Short Ballot Organization into the League under the latter's name, transfer of the League's headquarters to New York, installation of a new director, H. W. Dodds (subsequently president of Princeton), and adoption by the League of the Short Ballot Organization's aggressive and effective methods of action. The smooth accomplishment of that took a lot of lubrication over several years of small meetings, with Purdy always

<sup>1</sup> See also page 507, this issue.

present in considerate and compassionate spirit, abating controversy with consummate gentle skill. The League emerged with Charles Evans Hughes succeeding Purdy as president, Frank Vanderlip as treasurer,

and with a new vigor and sense of purpose. And, thanks to Purdy, no visible remnant of rancor!

That was the way he liked to do things!

R.S.C.

## 'So Shall Ye Reap'

NOT long ago the newspaper of a small New Jersey community had two news stories on the first page which, in a way, constituted a significant editorial.

One announced the unofficial vote by which the proposed council-manager charter was defeated.

The other, headed "Town Workers Worry Over Loss of Jobs to Democrats," told how "almost all of the town's employees and officers are casting an anxious eye on the incoming administration and another on the laws protecting or not protecting their jobs."

## Nonpartisan Government

NONPARTISAN municipal and county government, a completely established fact for 50 years or more for most large California cities, enabled the development of professional governmental service, the development of municipal technologies, the organization of career service, and the elimination of graft, influence and corruption, to a remarkable degree. Only with such efficient organization could the California cities and counties have made the expansion in our time, as California has become the mecca for the greatest mass migration in history. One

would think twice before he would willingly restore partisanship to local government, yet even without doing so, the revesting of power over municipalities and counties in a partisan legislature would have the same effect. One cannot assume that any such move would not be attended by rebirth of the very kind of difficulties that led to the reforms in the constitution of 1879.

Judge Leon Thomas David, Superior Court of Los Angeles County, speech before the State and Local Government Committee, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, July 15, 1959, as reprinted in the *Tax Digest* (California Taxpayers' Association), July 1959.

# How to Be a Politician

One who has succeeded outlines steps political embryo should take for success in public life.

By GEORGE R. METCALF\*

IT IS increasingly evident that the future of representative government—a la free choice—depends upon the caliber of those elected to office. The United States, rich as it is, can no longer afford the luxury of second-rate politicians who are ferried along on the strong arm of untold natural wealth. The stakes in a world beset with communistic threats are too high for such mediocrity.

Stephen K. Bailey, Osborn Professor of Public Affairs at Princeton University, recently reported as the result of studies financed by the Fund for the Republic that one of the major weaknesses in American government is "the difficulty in developing a flow of imaginative, informed, consistent and power-related responses to national and world issues."

This difficulty, it seems to me, springs basically from three shortcomings. First, the average American continues to hold the average elected official in low esteem. He recognizes the power that political office conveys but he is less than expansive over the persons who warm the seats of the mighty. Deep down he nurses a suspicion of politicians.

\* Mr. Metcalf, a member of the New York State Senate, representing Cayuga, Tompkins and Tioga Counties since 1950, is a columnist for the *Auburn (New York) Citizen-Advertiser*. He was formerly with the National Municipal League and the Citizens Union of New York City.

Because of this, he shows a lack of the trust in a high calling which one finds in England. At times this attitude colors our jokes, as my wife and I discovered on a western trip several years ago. The guides' constant rib tickling referred to each crooked trail as "politician's row."

Finally, for the pragmatic, there is the question of salary. Unless one clings to the slimy underside of the political ship, the emoluments are modest in comparison with many industrial pursuits.

As insoluble as these difficulties may appear, they offer a challenge to the talented youngster who is looking to political life as the fulfillment of a deep yearning for public service. If he wonders whether he possesses the aptitudes necessary to success, the following check-list compiled by a professional should prove helpful:

(1) *Is the political embryo sensitive?* One of the most overworked theories of political life is that a politician must possess a skin that would do credit to a rhinoceros. This is patently not so. Indeed if he did, he would lack one necessary ingredient for success—a sensitivity to the feelings of others.

Admittedly, there are times when politicians react to each other in the fashion of angry game cocks and there are times when public opprobrium creates a nostalgia for anonymity, but such outbreaks can be endured with a bit of philosophical resignation if edged with stolidness.

The important consideration is to discover whether an individual can, in army parlance, "take it."

(2) *Is the person gregarious?* In order to succeed in public office, a person need not be the hail-fellow-well-met kind. But he must like all men whether of high or low degree. Kipling's, "If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue, or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch," is the sine qua non of the politician. Because of the difficulty which many men and women encounter in jumping this hurdle, they never reach officialdom. On the other hand, the ability of Nelson A. Rockefeller to pass this test with flying colors helped him to replace Averell Harriman as governor of New York State in the fall of 1958.

\* \* \*

(3) *Does he possess the educational tools?* Certainly, anyone who is charged with the responsibility of public office needs the tools to handle the job. We can no longer afford the advice of George Washington Plunkitt, famous Tammany leader, who said, "Some young men think they can learn how to be successful in politics from books and they cram their heads with all sorts of college rot. They couldn't make a bigger mistake. . . . In fact, a young man who has gone through a college course is handicapped at the outset. He may succeed in politics but the chances are a hundred to one against him."

In today's world, the professional person must hold at least a bachelor's degree. Why not the politician? The lawyer, doctor, teacher or social

worker all must be trained and certified by examination. Yet we suffer no reluctance in handing over to untrained men and women the duty of enacting laws and managing our affairs. This is a folly which has no equal in today's complicated scheme of affairs.

(4) *Is the political embryo inquisitive?* A successful politician must possess the olfactory organ of a bird dog in sniffing out the hidden. In all groups—political or otherwise—there are individuals who pride themselves on developing inside tips; from small particles picked up at random, they piece together vital information. Their keenness makes them excellent politicians. The person who never knows what is happening in the dark corners of his society might as well forget political ambitions.

(5) *What kind of leadership does he wield?* This criterion is so basic to the individual's personality that he alone can provide the answer. If he contains within himself the seeds of ambition, nothing will hold him back. Occasionally, someone tries to analyze the qualities of leadership. Indeed, during World War II, the Adjutant General's branch of the Army drew up a fact sheet listing the 60-odd traits of leadership. Its author, however, conceded that only one man in American history ever earned a perfect grade and that was the Confederate leader—Robert E. Lee. Without disparaging this officer's motives, I would say to him, "nonsense." There is only one real measure—the inner voice which says "I want to lead" and will not be turned aside.

(6) *And finally, is the person public-spirited?* In the words of the prophet Paul, a politician can possess all the criteria for success and, without a deep dedication to public service, "it profiteth [him] nothing." Said another way, it is the leaven in the political loaf which gives the bread meaning and purpose. The saddest spectacle in public life is the person who mistakes the end purpose of government and substitutes, instead, ambition for naked power. He begins to hedge, to compromise, to waver. That great triumvirate of the mid-nineteenth century—Clay, Webster and Calhoun—were all guilty; in their quest for the presidency, they downgraded their integrity in the hope of evading the slavery question. All three failed.

\* \* \*

Here then are the essential yardsticks for measuring the embryo's aptitude. Assuming the candidate passes with flying colors, he should start by wooing a political party. Which bride he finally selects is a personal discovery as sacred to some as the choice of a religious faith but, once solemnized, there is no release save by divorce.

The next step is to look up the party authority where one lives. He can be found on the lowest rung of the political ladder in the tiniest unit of political division—the precinct, the district or the ward. He serves as the subaltern in the organization. He is called the precinct executive, the captain or the committeeman. Frank Kent, author of the *Great Game of Politics*, wrote some years ago that there were about 250,000 of these industrious men and women

in America. Their number, of course, has grown with the formation of new political subdivisions.

When they do their duty, the party waxes strong; when they fall down, the organization wanes. Their chief responsibility is to protect the interests of the party, to care for the needs of its members and to serve as a buffer between the officeholders and the people. These men and women generally toil without fanfare, but they expect the fruits of political office to drop into the mouths of those who prune the tree.

Thomas Collier Platt, the great New York boss who thought he had disposed of Teddy Roosevelt by electing him vice president, once said, "A political organization should be as well disciplined as the Army and Navy." He worked on the theory that a man should know enough to "stand when hitched."

Now surely times change and the horse is no more, and yet a certain discipline and regularity must exist if political parties are to survive. The sign of the amateur is the one who disregards these rules. Naturally, there are varying degrees of centralized control which depend upon geography and personalities. A metropolitan organization, for instance, would melt away with the loose controls of a rural setup.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate all this is to describe my own experience in entering politics.

At the end of the Second World War, after three and a half years in the service, a previous ambition had ripened into a firm resolve to make a career out of elective politics. I

returned to Auburn, a small community in upper New York State, where I had spent half my 31 years, and took a job as reporter on the local daily newspaper, the *Citizen-Advertiser*.

Working about in the community was an ideal entree into homes and business establishments and I came to know hundreds of people. From the start I was determined to enter the Republican lists.

\* \* \*

For years, the local city organization had been sliding downward and the need for young blood was as evident as the big clock on central square. The GOP chairman in Auburn was rather tired of the job and had offered to resign if someone would pick up the reins.

I had meanwhile become acquainted first with the committee members in my own district and then the ward. Now it seemed appropriate to reach out and meet other party representatives and drop a hint or two of my desire for advancement. Soon I was an avowed candidate for party chairman, going from ward to ward, talking my resolve to all 48 members of the Republican City Committee. A meeting was called, friends placed my name in nomination and a show of hands did the rest; I was named. All this had happened in six months —an inconceivable accomplishment in any but a sick organization.

Still success, whatever its cause, is a heady wine and this experience only served to strengthen my ambition. Before long, I was painting mental images of the state legislature and could vicariously feel the pulse of capitol hill in Albany.

Another young Republican had recently been elected to the Assembly and the rule in Cayuga County —where I resided—was never to send a city man to the lower house. He had to live in the rural area. This narrowed the choice. If a resident of Auburn wished to sit in the legislature, his only path was to unseat the incumbent state senator. In those days, the district covered three counties and the senator lived in the village of Palmyra, 50 miles to the west. As a courtesy, I went to spread my hopes before him and explain in modest tones how I hoped to eliminate him. He neither grew angry nor despondent; he merely pitted my prospects.

This done, I set about building personal followers in an operation strikingly similar to the techniques used by the indefatigable Mr. Plunkitt. "I had a cousin," Plunkitt related, "a young man who didn't take any particular interest in politics. I went to him and said, 'Tommy, I'm going to be a politician and I want to get a followin'; can I count on you?' He said, 'Sure, George.' That's how I started. . . . Two young men in the flat next to mine were school friends. I went to them, just as I went to Tommy, and they agreed to stand by me. . . . Before long I had 60 men and formed the George Washington Plunkitt Association."

Where Plunkitt worked one block, my senatorial area was spread out over countless square miles; where Plunkitt built an association with 60 men, my effort included hundreds. Yet the basic tactics in both cases were the same.

(Continued on page 474)

# Nothing Stops Them

Michigan's law for nominations by a returnable deposit fails to reduce number of office seekers.

By JOHN R. OWENS\*

A MINOR but not insignificant provision of the National Municipal League's *Model Election Administration System* recommends that candidates filing for political nominations be permitted to qualify for a place on the ballot by depositing a sum of money returnable if the candidate receives a certain percentage of the vote. This system is widely and successfully used in Canada and in most western European countries, but its acceptance in the United States has proceeded at a snail's pace.

Until 1956, when Connecticut made provision for a returnable deposit in its new direct primary law, Michigan was the only state which made use of the procedure. Michigan has used it in one form or another for 27 years and as a result has served as a valuable laboratory for testing the effectiveness of the plan. The state's experience has been reported in the past by Professor Harold M. Dorr<sup>1</sup> in a series of

articles appearing in this and other professional reviews.

The method of returnable deposit was first adopted by the Michigan legislature in 1931. This action was suggested by a special commission studying the state's election laws as a method of reducing the number of nuisance candidates on the long primary ballot. The 1931 law established the fee system as an alternative method to the usual nominating petition and was restricted to state legislative candidates in Wayne County (Detroit). Almost simultaneously the Detroit common council adopted an amendment to the city charter providing an optional deposit plan for all city candidates.

Thus the fee system was available by the time of the 1932 primary but little use was made of it. Because of the restoration of the Democratic party in Wayne County in 1932, the number of candidates seeking a place on the ballot, filing by conventional means, vastly increased. This apparent failure of the fee system to achieve its goal of shortening the ballot caused the legislature to consider amendment to the law. In 1935 the deposit system was made mandatory for county and state legislative candidates in Wayne County. In the same year the city of Detroit adopted the mandatory feature of the state statute.

In 1938, however, legal action was

\* Dr. Owens, assistant professor of political science at the University of California (Davis), was formerly with the Political Science Departments of Wesleyan University and the University of Michigan.

<sup>1</sup> See "Tightening the Direct Primary," *American Political Science Review*, June 1936, pages 512-522, and February 1937, pages 58-65. See also "Candidates Won't Stay Out," *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, May 1949, pages 224-229, and "Nomination by Money Deposit," *ibid.*, June 1954, pages 288-292.

instituted by a number of Wayne County candidates charging that the mandatory feature of the 1935 law was unconstitutional. This charge was litigated and upheld by the Wayne County Circuit Court; no appeal was made to the state Supreme Court.<sup>2</sup> The qualifying regulation then reverted to the optional provisions of 1931. The mandatory feature of the deposit system remained in the Detroit charter.

The state legislature returned again in 1947 to a consideration of the deposit provision. At this time it extended the application of the filing fee to candidates for county office in all 83 counties and to state legislative candidates from any county electing one or more state representatives.<sup>3</sup> The law continued the filing fee (\$100) as an alternative to the nomination petition and provided that the fee "shall be returned to all candidates who shall be nominated and to a like number of candidates who are next highest in order thereto in the number of votes received in the primary election."

The extension of the fee provisions opened the way for a fairly comprehensive system of nomination by returnable deposit. All county and a large percentage of state legislative candidates were covered. On the basis of information collected for the years 1954, 1956 and 1958, however, it appears that many candidates con-

tinued to make use of the nominating petition. Only 39.6 per cent of all eligible candidates in the three primaries elected to qualify for a place on the ballot by returnable deposit.<sup>4</sup> Yet there is some reason for optimism because there is evidence of a slow but steady increase in the number using the deposit.

\* \* \*

The use of the deposit system varies from area to area and from one office to another. This can be shown by contrasting the experience of Wayne County with all other counties in Michigan. The trend in the last three primaries (1954, 1956, 1958) in Wayne County shows a steady increase, to the point of widespread acceptance, in the use of the deposit. Every candidate for county office qualified for a place on the ballot in this manner. This record, however, was not maintained by legislative candidates. A fairly high percentage (74.4) of Senate candidates made use of the fee. The least use of the system was among candidates for the House of Representatives, where only 46.8 per cent in the last three primaries placed by this method.

One wonders whether this is merely a pattern which has developed since 1954 and might be subject to change. Clearly, this is not the case. An analysis of the use of the deposit among all Wayne County candidates (county and legislative) for the six primaries since 1948 shows that ap-

<sup>2</sup> *Elmer J. Treloan v. Casper J. Lingeman, et al.*, Wayne County Circuit Court, No. 209-502 (August 5, 1938); and *Alfred Zickert, et al. v. Casper J. Lingeman, et al.*, Wayne County Circuit Court, No. 209-726 (August 12, 1938).

<sup>3</sup> The law applies to 87 of the 110 seats in the House of Representatives and fourteen of the 34 Senate seats.

<sup>4</sup> Information is not available on Berrien, Ingham, Missaukee, Oceana, Osceola, Roscommon and St. Joseph Counties. However, all but one of these (Ingham) are of minor importance and should not affect this study.

proximately 72 per cent of the candidates elected to file by money deposit. This average is held down by the low incidence of money deposit by House candidates, but even in this category, there is evidence of an increasing use of the method.

The pattern changes markedly in outstate areas where a review of available data shows that the deposit system is used less frequently than in Wayne County. In the last three primary elections, only 8.8 per cent of 3,994 candidates for county offices qualified by money deposit.<sup>5</sup> This limited use by outstate county candidates, who make up a fairly high proportion of the total candidates eligible to use the deposit, is the underlying cause of the low statewide average use of the device.

\* \* \*

Factors explaining the varied use of the returnable deposit are complicated. In examining the over-all pattern, however, one factor does stand out. The fee system is most extensively used in those counties located in the southern half of the lower peninsula—those having the largest population. In other words, there is almost a direct correlation between the population of the county and the degree to which the returnable deposit is used. The reason becomes apparent when it is pointed out that the number of signatures required on a nominating petition is based on a percentage of the party vote cast for the secretary of state.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> No data available on Berrien and Ingham representative districts.

<sup>6</sup> The law provides that the number of signatures needed on a nominating petition shall be "not less than 1 per cent nor more than 4 per cent of the number of votes

Candidates tend to continue use of the nominating petition in the smaller counties because of the limited number of signatures required on a petition. For example, a Democratic county candidate in Delta County needs a minimum of only 759 signatures as compared with 7,185 needed by a Democratic candidate in Wayne County.

\* \* \*

Another factor is the extent to which the deposit system has succeeded in limiting the number of candidates seeking a place on the ballot. A major expectation of the original proponents was that the device would serve as an effective deterrent to the flood of office seekers. Has the Michigan experience verified this expectation?

On the contrary, it appears that the returnable deposit, either in its mandatory or optional form, has not acted as such a deterrent. Admittedly, this generalization cannot be proved conclusively because it is impossible to isolate and control all the variables which could affect the number of candidates seeking a place on the ballot. Yet the great fluctuation in the number of candidates from year to year and from office to office strongly suggests that factors other than the money deposit control the number of candidates.

The city of Detroit offers the best test as to the deterrent effect of the deposit system. The deposit is mandatory for all candidates and the influence of party on the number of office seekers can be eliminated as elections are nonpartisan. When the

cast by such party in said district for secretary of state at the last preceding November election."

deposit plan was first used in Detroit in 1931 and 1933, there was an average for the two years of 7.3 candidates for each seat on the city council. In 1953 and 1957, after more than twenty years of experience with the system, the two-year average had increased to 7.7 candidates for each city office and 10.4 candidates for each council seat. The number of candidates for the nine city council seats in 1953 was 114 and in 1957 it was 73. Seventy-nine per cent of the council candidates in 1953 forfeited their deposits and 65.8 per cent in 1957. Clearly this evidence demonstrates, for the city of Detroit at least, that the mandatory deposit plan with a high rate of forfeiture does not keep down the number of candidates.

An examination of the trend in the number of candidates filing for state legislative office, covering a longer span of time, offers no encouragement to the thesis that the returnable deposit dissuades frivolous candidates. The number of state legislative candidates per seat was charted for the period 1948-1958 and breakdowns were made by political party and for Wayne County and outstate areas. It appears reasonable to hypothesize that if the deposit plan acted as a deterrent to office seekers, then there would be fewer candidates where the deposit is most frequently used. Such is not the case. In Wayne County there were more candidates per seat than elsewhere. For the ten-year period the average number of candidates per legislative seat was 8.3 as opposed to 3.6 in outstate areas. Also, the rate of forfeiture of the deposit

in Wayne County was extremely high. In the primaries of 1954, 1956 and 1958, it was as follows: senators 59.4 per cent, representatives 45.6, and county candidates 56.8.

This conclusion, based on a comparison of dissimilar areas, is reinforced by data which excludes area as a factor, i.e., a comparison between the number of candidates per seat for the House of Representatives and for the Senate. The deposit is used more often by Senate candidates than by House candidates. Nevertheless, a comparison for the ten-year period (1948-1958) shows that there is an average of 6.7 candidates per senatorial seat as opposed to an average of 5.1 candidates per seat for the House.

\* \* \*

The evidence demonstrates that a majority of the candidates still persist in circulating petitions in order to qualify for a place on the ballot. This fact is due primarily to the limited use of the deposit by outstate county candidates who constitute a large proportion of those eligible to use the system. The most extensive use of the fee is in Wayne County and in other highly populated counties in the southern half of Michigan's lower peninsula. There is evidence, however, of a gradual increase in the use of the deposit by all candidates in every area.

In the less populated counties petition pushing is a popular method of campaigning and very likely it will continue as such until changes are made which increase the required number of signatures needed to qualify by petition.

(Continued on page 466)

# Manager by Degrees

In Virginia, birthplace of administrator idea,  
most cities and twelve counties now have plan.

By WALTER STONEHAM\*

THE use of the idea of a professional administrator at the local level in Virginia may be viewed as a two-fold evolutionary process. On the municipal scene, the concept is widespread and has assumed but one application—the council-manager form. But the few counties which have adopted the administrator principle have not adhered strictly to the council-manager plan. Discussion of the professional management principle in terms of these two governmental units emphasizes the flexibility of the concept and also permits observations as to the reasons why the idea has developed as it has in Virginia.

At the municipal level, the council-manager plan is by far the most popular form of government. Sixty per cent of the state's 111 incorporated municipalities having a population greater than 1,000 use the plan and it is used in all cities where the population exceeds 10,000. In fact, nine out of every ten municipal residents live in council-manager cities or towns.

The first municipal application of the appointed administrator idea in

Virginia, and in the U. S., occurred in 1908 in Staunton. History might have taken a different course, however, had the state constitution not contained provisions requiring all municipalities with populations in excess of 10,000 to have bicameral councils. Staunton, then a city of just over 10,000, was bent on adopting a form of government similar to the then popular commission plan, and might well have done so had the legal barrier not existed.

In 1912 a constitutional amendment was approved which permitted the General Assembly to provide for the government of cities and towns without regard to the provision requiring bicameral councils and in 1914 the legislature responded by enacting a general law authorizing municipalities to adopt the council-manager plan.

During the 50-odd years that have elapsed since Staunton took the first unsure step toward improving municipal government by employing a professional administrator, the council-manager plan has blanketed Virginia municipalities. The average rate of adoption has been thirteen municipalities during each ten-year period since 1908. The smallest number during any such period was nine, and the largest eighteen. It is interesting to note that the time of most rapid utilization of the plan has not been the period following

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the close of World War II, as in many areas of the country, but the period from 1919 through 1928—a time when the cry "business in government" was loud and frequent.

The use of the professional management principle is also increasing at the county level in Virginia, but the picture here is quite different. Not nearly as many counties operate under manager systems as do municipalities. Acceptance of the idea by counties, although definitely not dramatic, is nevertheless significant.

There are in use in Virginia counties today essentially three systems of government which embody the manager principle. Two of these, the manager and the executive forms, are the more formal applications of the concept. The third system, based on employment of an administrative officer known as the executive secretary, is not a form of government in the same strict sense as the first two plans.

The act governing the county manager and county executive forms requires the county board to appoint a chief administrator, prescribes in general terms an organizational pattern for the county and abolishes certain elective offices. In contrast, the executive secretary system is based on a law authorizing the governing body of any county to appoint an executive secretary, listing several of his duties (very few of which are individually significant but which collectively suggest the manager concept), establishing no pattern of county organization and leaving undisturbed all traditional county institutions.

Only twelve of the state's 98 coun-

ties use governmental systems based on the manager concept. Four of these operate under formal plans—two use the county manager system and two the county executive form. Six counties employ executive secretaries and two others operate under special systems.

Statutes authorizing adoption of the county manager and county executive forms were placed on the state's law books in 1932 while the general law giving counties authority to employ executive secretaries was enacted in 1950. Since the passage of this latter law, only one county has made use of the former. While it is apparent that the six counties which have employed executive secretaries within the past few years desired competent, full-time management of their administrative affairs, the fact that they chose the executive secretary application indicates that they perhaps were hesitant to take what they may have considered a giant step from the traditional type of county government to one of the more formal manager systems.

\* \* \*

Why have Virginia municipalities almost unanimously accepted the council-manager plan?

In each municipality which has adopted the manager plan there have undoubtedly been a few local factors which contributed to the decision to make the change. These factors should be taken into account in any intensive investigation of individual cases. This analysis is concerned, however, with a cause over and above these reasons—with why the manager plan has been so widely accepted by cities and towns.

Several factors are involved in the answer but they all revolve around the one simple fact that it is extremely easy for Virginia municipalities to adopt a council-manager type government.

Although both the charter and ordinance methods of adoption are available in Virginia, most municipalities have preferred to implement the plan originally by ordinance and obtain a council-manager charter at some later date. Another method is to include in a charter a provision giving council the power to appoint a manager and prescribe his powers, duties and responsibilities. This enables the municipality to put the plan into effect at will simply by employing a manager. Of course, a few municipalities have adopted the plan originally by charter; until after World War II, however, this was the exception rather than the rule.

\* \* \*

Certainly the most important fact which emerges is that no one mandatory procedure exists which municipalities are required to follow in order to obtain the manager form of government. Most cities and towns have followed the line of least resistance. Municipalities may adopt the manager plan with almost no immediate change in the structure of the government or in the character of the community. This is why so many of them have been able to adopt the plan in a climate of political calm.

This was especially true in the early adoptions when the manager plan was still a novelty. The Fredericksburg experience offers an example. At the beginning, the manager possessed only limited legal

control over the administrative organization, but he gained more and more authority until the administration became almost completely centralized. This might well be called manager government by degrees.

With, of course, the expected exceptions, this is the general pattern which has been followed by many of Virginia's municipalities. In most cities the transition period has been faster than it was in Fredericksburg, and some managers have had more initial authority than others. Nevertheless, the pattern exists and the differences are only in degree.

\* \* \*

Why, then, have Virginia's counties been so reluctant to adopt a system of government based on council-manager principles? In general, there are two reasons. First, a little over one-third of the counties are still rural in character; they provide few services and have little reason to consider adoption of a form of government designed primarily to cope with problems created by urban growth.

Second, it is quite difficult to overcome the opposition to change created and maintained by the so-called constitutional officers of the counties. The Virginia constitution requires all counties having the traditional type of government to have five elected officials in addition to the board of supervisors. The duties vested in these officials are usually performed by appointed officers in units with the manager plan. Two of these officials—the commissioner of the revenue, whose duty it is to assess property for taxation, and the treasurer, who serves as tax collector

—are abolished by the adoption of either the county manager or the county executive plan. The political influence possessed by these officials makes any change which they disfavor difficult to put into effect.

The executive secretary system, which leaves all traditional political offices undisturbed, is enjoying a much more rapid rate of growth than the two more formal plans. Yet opposition to this system is not absent. Perhaps the politicians fear that this modified plan will eventually lead to adoption of one of the more formal plans and the abolition of their offices. Treasurers and commissioners of the revenue, however, are not the sole source of opposition. In one county where adoption of the executive secretary system has been under consideration for several months, another constitutional officer—the clerk of the circuit court—has spoken loudly against the plan. In this county the court clerk, who also serves as clerk of the board of supervisors, has managed to create enough opposition to the plan at least to delay its adoption.

Reluctance to disturb the status quo on the part of county residents is also a slight deterrent to the growth of the two more formal plans, for each of these is subject to referendum before adoption.

\* \* \*

Since the use of the manager principle is approaching the saturation point in the larger Virginia cities and towns, prospects for future growth rest in the small municipalities and counties.

At present, 93 per cent of the cities and towns having populations

in excess of 2,500 are governed by the council-manager plan. It is neither boastful nor unrealistic to expect this figure to reach 100 per cent within the next several years. In fact, on the basis of the 1950 census, unanimity would require adoption of the plan by only four additional municipalities and one of these four seems about ready to make the change now. Of course the statistical picture will undoubtedly change with the publication of the next decennial census, but the change is not likely to be dramatic.

Some increase in the application of the manager plan may occur in municipalities falling in the less-than-2,500 population group, for it is here that the plan is not widely used. It would be overly optimistic to expect many of these small municipalities to adopt the manager plan but it must be remembered that the town of 2,000 today may be the city of 5,000 tomorrow. Surely some of the small towns will increase in size and find that problems accompanying a population increase call for more efficient administration of government.

The situation at the county level is quite different. Only 13 per cent of the counties now utilize professional administrative management. But over one-third of the counties are still rural and cannot validly be considered as prospective users of the manager principle. There is still room for increased use of the manager concept, however.

It is altogether possible that the now popular executive secretary system might serve as a stepping stone to either the county manager or the

county executive plan. So far, however, only one county which has employed an executive secretary has subsequently changed to either of the more formal plans.

The popularity of the executive secretary system may stem from the fact that it permits the counties to obtain manager government in much the same manner as the cities are permitted to obtain it.

\* \* \*

Manager government by degrees, then, has been a characteristic method of utilization of the manager concept in Virginia. In general, the procedure has been successful, and most localities that have followed it have completed the evolutionary process and achieved efficient, centralized administration. In these localities, the manager concept is as firmly entrenched as anywhere in the country.

Admittedly, in some cases, this method of bringing about efficient government leaves something to be desired. Perhaps there is some validity to the charge that a method of adopting council-manager government which does not spell out legally the exact duties of the manager and leaves to the common sense and integrity of the council and the manager the type of relationships that will prevail between the two is an unsatisfactory compromise of principles which does not achieve the desired results. But if the charge is valid at all, it is only partially so, for it must be remembered that no amount of legal jargon will assure compliance with the spirit of a law.

The council-manager form is generally conceded to blueprint a better

governmental mechanism than any other now available. Nevertheless, its merit is measurable only by the precision with which it responds to the desires of the people it serves.

#### NOTHING STOPS THEM

(Continued from page 461)

The returnable deposit has not served as an effective deterrent to nuisance candidates. There is an increase rather than a decrease in the number of candidates per seat since adoption of the plan. There is little reason to think, however, that the returnable deposit affects in any way—increases or decreases—the number of candidacies. Other factors appear to be more important in influencing the decision of candidates to enter the primary. The \$100 fee is so small that most anyone is prepared to risk forfeiture for the advantage of having his name appear on the ballot. Raising the fee is something which should be given serious consideration.

Any defense of the returnable deposit must be made on grounds other than that it tends to eliminate frivolous candidates. Such a defense is easily made, however. It has not been found open to fraud, whereas petitions in Michigan as elsewhere have often been fraudulent; the device is practical—no difficulties arise in operating it; and it is less costly to the election authorities than verifying nominating petitions. Though the Michigan experience with the deposit plan has not been entirely salutary, the deposit still appears to be preferable to the petition.

# News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

## Home Rule Aided In Minnesota

### Legislation Implements Constitutional Amendment

THE Minnesota legislature in its 1959 session adopted several bills in accordance with recently adopted constitutional home rule provisions.

As previously reported,<sup>1</sup> the voters of Minnesota approved a constitutional amendment in November 1958 which gave the legislature authority to determine the majorities necessary for the adoption and amendment of home rule charters and which required the approval of special laws by popular vote or by the governing body of the local unit as specified by the legislature, unless otherwise provided by general law.

Bills to implement this amendment were introduced early in the 1959 session. Very soon, however, it became apparent that an attempt would be made in the Senate to give the legislature power to dispense with local approval of special legislation in specific instances. Determined opposition to this "watering down" of the principle of home rule by the League of Minnesota Municipalities and other groups that joined in support of the amendment resulted in the abandonment of this effort.

In consequence, the 140 special laws passed at the 1959 regular and special sessions contain the names of the local governmental units to which they apply and, except in a few cases, the approval of the local governmental body is re-

quired. Five of the special laws require approval by the voters in the unit or units affected and two require such approval if the governing body does not act within 60 days.

A general law (Chapter 368) was passed which prescribes the procedure for filing with the Secretary of State notice of local approval. In one instance reported in the press since adoption of this law, a special act to combine city and county purchasing was approved by the city council of St. Paul but rejected by the Ramsey County board of commissioners.

The bill concerning the adoption and amendment of home rule charters also struck a snag over the issue of majority votes to be required. Supporters of the amendment urged that a simple majority was sufficient, but opposition developed in the conservative-controlled Senate. After lengthy debate, both in committee and on the floor, a compromise bill was passed fixing 55 per cent of those voting on the proposition as necessary to adopt or amend a charter. (The old requirements were four-sevenths for new charters and three-fifths for amendments). The provision for the popular initiation of charter amendments was liberalized somewhat by substituting 5 per cent of the "total vote cast at the last previous state general election in the city" for the previous 5 per cent of the "voters of the city."

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

### Executive Reorganization Facilitated in Oregon

The 1959 Oregon legislature has authorized Governor Mark O. Hatfield to propose sweeping reorganization of state administrative agencies to the next regu-

<sup>1</sup> See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1958, page 403, and the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, January 1959, page 27.

lar legislative session in 1961. Each house of the legislature would have 45 days to consider and accept or reject the reorganization plan in full. The act bars the legislature from making any changes in the proposal.

### ***State Reorganization Makes Progress in Georgia***

Besides eliminating many state boards and commissions, Georgia's 1959 legislature authorized a Governor's Commission on Economy and Reorganization which is composed of the governor, the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the House of Representatives, two senators, three representatives and nine prominent citizens. It has been active since organizing in April, with staff direction by Dr. M. W. H. Collins, Jr., head of the Institute of Law and Government, University of Georgia. Its final report is to be rendered in December so that the members of the legislature can study it before the next session, starting in January.

The legislature took direct steps in reorganization by abolishing or eliminating by consolidation some 25 boards, bureaus and commissions, and others have been abolished by executive order.

The Department of Entomology and the Milk Control Board were abolished and their functions transferred to the Department of Agriculture. The Board of Commissioners of the Department of Commerce was abolished and replaced by an advisory board to the director of the department. The State Park Authority, State School Building Authority for the Deaf and Blind, State Vocational Trade School Building Authority and Veterans Resettlement Corporation were all abolished. The membership of the State School Building Authority and University System Building Authority was made identical. The State Highway Board was given responsibility for the Georgia Rural Roads Authority and the State Bridge Building Authority. Among the boards and commissions abolished were the

Georgia Recreation Commission, State Planning Commission, Oil and Gas Commission, Aeronautical Advisory Board and Civil Defense Advisory Council.

In an interim report adopted August 13 the commission recommended abolition of two more state agencies and proposed legislative and executive actions that would save the taxpayers approximately \$5 million a year. The commission's statutory life expires December 31, 1959.

### ***40 Legislative Commissions To Serve in Illinois***

More than 75 House and Senate bills to create legislative commissions were introduced in the last Illinois legislature, according to the Taxpayers' Federation of that state, which reports that many of these bills failed to pass or were vetoed by Governor William G. Stratton.

Seventeen interim, or temporary, legislative commissions were either created or continued. Twenty-three permanent legislative commissions will continue. Senators and representatives to the number of 331 will serve on these commissions without pay but with reimbursement for travel expenses. By appointment or statutory requirement, there will also be 158 unpaid non-legislative members.

A total amount of \$257,000 was appropriated for the seventeen interim commissions and \$1,118,183 for the permanent commissions. The largest amounts were for the Budgetary Commission, Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission, Legislative Audit Commission, Legislative Council, Legislative Reference Bureau, Pension Laws Commission, School Problems Commission, Senate Chamber Maintenance Commission and the Commission to Visit and Examine State Institutions.

### ***Constitutional Convention Sued for in Michigan***

The ruling of the Michigan State Board of Canvassers that the votes cast in November 1958 for calling a conven-

tion to revise the Michigan constitution of 1908 were insufficient has been challenged in the state Supreme Court by a taxpayer's suit. The vote for a convention exceeded the contrary vote but was less than a majority of the vote for governor at the same election; it was ruled insufficient on the basis of a Supreme Court decision in 1949 that a constitutional requirement of a majority of electors "voting at such election" meant a majority of the votes cast for governor at that time.

It is pointed out in the recent action that prior to 1949 the question of calling a convention was decided on the basis of a majority of the vote on that question and that constitutional revision was approved five times on that basis between 1849 and 1904. The court is asked to rule similarly as to last November's election.

#### **Maryland Legislature Adopts Economic Measures**

At its 1959 session the legislature of Maryland established a State Department of Economic Development, created a twelve-man advisory commission for it and authorized a Development Credit Corporation to extend loans to business and industry. It ratified a compact providing for a bistate commission with Virginia to administer and conserve the fisheries of the Potomac River and authorized Maryland to join the Interstate Oil Compact. A metropolitan area compact was approved to provide for regulation of transit facilities in the Washington, D. C., area. Virginia has enacted the compact and congressional approval for participation by the District of Columbia is pending.

#### **Governors Hold 51st Annual Conference**

San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the scene of the 51st annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, August 2-5. Attendance included governors from 45 states, commonwealths and territories. Governor

LeRoy Collins of Florida presided as chairman and Governor J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware was elected chairman for the coming year.

As reported in *State Government News*, an innovation at this annual meeting was the opening of what previously had been closed executive business sessions to press and public. Thus for the first time Governors' Conference resolutions were discussed and voted upon in open meeting.

Of fifteen resolutions adopted, one urged the President and Congress to agree on a program to provide sufficient funds to meet the federal highway fiscal crisis and directed the Conference Executive Committee to be ready to join them in discussions leading to solution.

Another resolution, emphasizing among other factors that safety devices and improvements in automobile design and equipment assist in reducing the severity of accidents, called for creation of a Governors' Conference Committee on Roads and Highway Safety to keep relevant problems under scrutiny.

The conference approved a report by its Committee on Residence Requirements for Public Assistance and proposed measures to Congress and the legislatures to implement its major recommendations. Congress was asked to amend the Social Security Act so that all four federally-aided categories of public assistance will have a uniform one-year ceiling on residence requirements. Legislatures were urged to ratify an interstate compact providing that persons moving from one party state to another shall not be denied some form of aid, if needed, regardless of residence requirements otherwise existing.

The governors urged that the Army National Guard be maintained at a strength of not less than 400,000 and the Air National Guard at not less than 75,000.

A broad program for improved civic defense was recommended.

It was resolved that a representative group of the conference should visit Latin American nations within the next year. The governors also authorized the Executive Committee to consult with the State Department and, with its approval, invite heads of various republics and other officials in the Soviet Union recently visited by members of the Governors' Conference to come to the United States and observe the operation of government here.

Among other resolutions the conference urged establishment of a permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for purposes specified in legislation before Congress.

### **Merit System Extended In Kentucky**

An executive order of Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky has placed in the state merit system about 14,000 employees under his jurisdiction. Previously there had been about 1,300 state employees in the merit system. According to *Personnel News* of the Public Personnel Association, employees in departments affected by the order were to take qualifying examinations to retain their positions. Those failing to qualify were to be replaced within 30 days after eligible lists are established for their positions. It is expected that this phase of the program will be completed by November 30.

The National Civil Service League notes that the governor acted after the candidate he supported for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination was defeated in the primary. The winning candidate is pledged to the merit system.

### **States Act on Government- Employee Relations**

*Good Government*, newsletter of the National Civil Service League, lists the following states that have adopted laws affecting the relationships of state and local governments and their employees:

California has a new law permitting firemen to join unions and present griev-

ances but banning strikes or recognition of picket lines while on duty. Florida enacted a law prohibiting state, county and municipal employees from striking, asserting the right to strike, or belonging to organizations which claim that right. A new North Carolina law forbids policemen and firemen to belong to labor unions. Governor Hatfield of Oregon vetoed a bill to permit the state and its municipalities to bargain collectively with employees, stating: "Collective bargaining cannot operate effectively in a government setting." The Alaska legislature enacted a law permitting state and municipal governments to enter into labor-management agreements, including union contracts, with their employees.

### **Court Reorganization Approved in Wisconsin**

Modified by several amendments the Wisconsin court reorganization bill has been passed by the legislature. Beginning January 1, 1962, special courts and special procedures will be abolished and there will be only the Supreme Court and county and circuit courts.

One of the amendments continues the power of justices of the peace to handle garnishment proceedings. Another provides that certain court branches in Milwaukee County shall handle specified types of cases and makes other adjustments with regard to that county.

Many specific bills to place the reorganization plan in effect will need to be enacted in 1961. The state League of Women Voters has been active in support of court reorganization.

### **North Carolina Court Reform Defeated but Not Dead**

The proposals for court reforms in North Carolina<sup>1</sup> were so badly crippled

<sup>1</sup> See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1958, page 479; and the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, May 1959, page 247.

and distorted in the 1959 legislature that the sponsoring legislators abandoned the effort at this time. The *Charlotte News*, however, comments, "Judicial reform is anything but a dead issue in North Carolina. An aroused and profoundly chagrined public will keep it very much alive."

#### **State Court Administrators Increase to 21**

Bills to establish state court administrators have recently been passed by the legislatures of Colorado, Illinois, and New Mexico, bringing to 21 the number of such officers or their equivalent, according to the *Journal of the American Judicature Society*. The other jurisdictions are given as Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin and Puerto Rico.

### **Many Referenda In New Jersey**

The voters of New Jersey will be faced at the November 3 election with three statewide referenda and another question appearing in all but a few counties, while in many of the larger cities at least one public question will be voted upon.

An outstanding statewide proposal is one to place the state's credit behind \$428 million of New Jersey Turnpike bonds in return for the right to use surplus Turnpike revenue for reimbursing local governments for taxes of which commuter railroads would be relieved.<sup>1</sup> Another would legalize games of chance at carnivals and seashore resorts. The third would approve a bond issue of \$66,800,000 for college construction, chiefly at Rutgers, the State University.

The partially statewide referendum calls for Sunday closing of establishments selling household or business goods and

furnishings, building supplies, etc., but not drugstores, news stands and food or drink places. It is placed on the ballot by virtue of petitions in nearly all of the state's 21 counties.

In Newark, largest city in New Jersey, there will be two local questions—a 15 per cent pay increase for police, firemen and other civil service employees and a 40-hour work week for garbage collectors at the same pay as at present for 48 hours.

Jersey City, second largest city, will vote on the election of a charter study commission to make recommendations as to a new charter for the city.

#### **Ohio Governor Vetoes Firemen's Work-Week Bill**

The Ohio legislature which adjourned on August 14 passed a bill mandating upon cities and villages employing three or more full-time firemen a duty week of 56 hours. This was vetoed by Governor Michael V. DiSalle and his veto was sustained prior to adjournment of the legislature. The governor stated that his veto was "directed not to the substance of the bill but to the principle of local government that it violates." He pointed out that the legislature had made no provision for additional local government financial assistance; furthermore, he did not believe "that the hours and working conditions of employees of chartered municipalities should be the function of the state."

#### **R. I. Localities Consulted On State Legislation**

Rhode Island's local officials were brought into state law-making procedures this year when affected by proposed bills. The governor polled all city, county or school executives concerned with a problem attacked by a bill, the Council of State Governments reports. Teacher tenure bills were referred to school boards and firearm regulations to police chiefs, for example. Response ran as high as 80 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> See page 490, this issue.

### **Council-Manager Plan Developments**

GARDENA, CALIFORNIA, (1957 population 30,576) has recently adopted the council-manager plan.

PARIS (1950 population 4,358) and POLAND (1,503), MAINE, have recently adopted the town manager plan, according to the International City Managers' Association, which states that council-manager communities in that state now number 135.

The board of trustees of the village of HORSEHEADS, NEW YORK, (3,606) unanimously adopted the village manager plan on August 19. The mayor and four trustees continue to serve, without pay. The board appoints the clerk-treasurer as well as the manager. Consolidation of eleven existing departments into six will be effected.

YUKON, OKLAHOMA, (1,990) adopted a council-manager charter on August 18 by a vote of 198 to 8, to become effective in approximately six weeks upon approval by the governor.

ARTESIA and ROSEMEAD, CALIFORNIA, have recently adopted the council-manager plan, bringing the total of manager cities and counties in that state to 197, according to the ICMA.

NORTH VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA, is a recent addition to the list of council-manager cities.

After having been passed in the State Senate in June a bill for a referendum in FALMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, on adoption of the town manager plan was defeated in the House of Representatives on July 13 over efforts of its supporters to have it debated.

The charter board of BUCKHANNON, WEST VIRGINIA, has tentatively approved the council-manager plan with mayor and council, the latter to appoint the manager as administrative head of the city government. The council would comprise two members elected at large and one from each of the present five wards. A special

election is to be held this fall. If adopted, the charter takes effect July 1, 1960.

The city council of TOLEDO, OHIO, voted six to three on August 24 to place on the November 3 ballot a proposed charter amendment calling for direct election of the mayor, while retaining council-manager government. On the same day petitions carrying 20,249 signatures, calling for a November 3 referendum on adoption of the strong-mayor plan, were filed with the clerk of the council. The number of signatures, if found valid, exceeds the statutory requirement. The petitions were presented by four Democratic county leaders.

FLORENCE, ALABAMA, has voted against adoption of the council-manager plan.

COON RAPIDS, MINNESOTA, has adopted a new home rule charter by a vote of 172 to 59. It continues the manager plan.

The charter commission of GALVESTON, TEXAS, voted unanimously to approve the council-manager plan after an initial vote of fifteen for that plan, three for the present commission plan and one for the strong mayor plan. The commission's action follows the approval of the council-manager plan by the voters in an advisory referendum on May 12.

Thirty-nine out of 52 cities in the United States that have received awards for outstanding achievement in police traffic supervision in 1958 have the council-manager plan. They include cities of all sizes—from Cincinnati, San Diego, Miami, Sacramento and Kansas City down to smaller communities like Winnetka, Illinois, and Dover, Delaware.

### **Philadelphia Wins Award For 'Operation Northwest'**

The city of Philadelphia has received the Silver Anvil Award of the American Public Relations Association for the most outstanding government public relations program in 1958. This had been conducted to aid the city's effort to reverse riding habits of the citizens from private

automobile to public mass transportation in order to attack the problem of traffic congestion.

The city launched a six-months experiment, labeled "Operation Northwest," involving coordinated operation of the Reading Railroad's Chestnut Hill lines and the Philadelphia Transportation Company's buses, with increased service at lower fares to win riders. A thoroughly researched public relations program was entered into. The results as to increased riding and decreased motor car congestion exceeded estimates.

In September 1959 the city instituted a similar "Operation Northeast" accompanied by another large-scale publicity effort.

## Two Cities Compete In Annexation Program

The city councils of Phoenix and Glendale, Arizona, have agreed that their cities would compete in orderly fashion, on the basis of rules adopted by both, for the annexation of a two-square-mile area between the municipalities. Drafted by City Managers Ray W. Wilson of Phoenix and W. A. Gilchrist of Glendale, the rules are as follows:

1. Both cities to prepare identical annexation petitions, to be circulated at the same time under the same conditions.
2. The entire area, if the necessary signatures can be obtained, to be annexed at one time by the winning city.
3. Neither city to send representatives into the area. Residents of the area to conduct any campaign for annexation to one or the other of the two cities.
4. Brochures explaining services and tax rates to be placed in the mail on the same day by Phoenix and Glendale.

University of Arizona PAUL KELSO

## City Needs for Competent Personnel Being Surveyed

A two-year study of the needs of cities for competent people in managerial and

technical urban governmental positions is being undertaken by the Municipal Manpower Commission with a \$500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. It will operate in close association with the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association, the American Society of Planning Officials and other professional and technical organizations. It has established headquarters in Washington at 1612 K Street, N. W.

James E. Webb, former U. S. director of the budget, is chairman. He states: "The commission will study the need of urban government for specialized personnel and the compensation, training and personnel systems necessary to attract and hold competent people in managerial, technical, scientific and other specialized positions."

## AMA Announces Public Relations Competition

The American Municipal Association's Committee on Municipal Public Relations, formerly the Government Public Relations Association, has announced that four achievement awards will be made this year; there is a deadline of October 15 for entries. In the category of the best single public relations project three first-place awards will be made according to population groupings—under 10,000, from 10,000 to 75,000, and over 75,000. An over-all award will be given in the category of the best year-round public relations program for a unit of government. The awards will be presented at the banquet of the AMA annual convention on December 1 in Denver.

## Phoenix Internship Plan Now in Tenth Year

The governmental internship program in Phoenix, Arizona, began its tenth year on July 1. Since its start in 1950 twenty-nine interns have received training; nine of these are now city or county managers, eight are assistants to managers and four are in other forms of

municipal work. Three are in military service or on the verge of it.

The interns are under the city manager in the Division of Research and Budget, and are assigned work in administration, budgeting, organizational problems and procedural studies, bringing them into contact with most city activities. Each intern is given a one-year contract with the city and receives \$330 per month.

### *International Institute of Administrative Sciences*

The eleventh Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, held at Wiesbaden, West Germany, August 31-September 3, 1959, attracted 478 delegates from 49 countries and sixteen international organizations. Topics included the devolution of power to autonomous institutions, the structure and function of the Ministry of Finance, the increase of efficiency by incentives, and automation and the public service.

In the triennial election of officers Frantz Hvass (Denmark) was reelected president, Herbert Emmerich (UN-USA) was elected vice president, William F. Finan (USA) was reelected chairman of the Committee on Administrative Practices.

### HOW TO BE A POLITICIAN

(Continued from page 457)

To succeed, we had to sell ourselves to the public. For me it meant learning the names and faces of a great many persons. From the outset, I found a card index file to be the only solution and proceeded to list every contact by name, residence, employment, party affiliation, voting district and to put down whatever pertinent fact of family life I could dig out.

It made me blush on occasion to

be reminded of my remarkable memory for names, but it worked. Gradually, evidence of support for my candidacy appeared. As more and more persons became aware of my unending pursuit, the greater was their interest. What had seemed a friendly lark at the beginning suddenly stirred the voters' imagination.

Month in and month out the campaign continued without let-up. Yet not for four years did I put my blue chips on the table to test my opponent's strength.

To make certain that all 156 voting districts outside Auburn contained forces pledged to my candidacy, I lined up active persons in each area around whom others would rally. Meetings were held to run down the enrollment lists. Volunteers offered to contact their friends, and each name was meticulously recorded for use on primary day. Plans were developed for getting voters to the polls.

The election was a fine measure of the long and arduous struggle. The result showed that more persons had voted than in any primary before or since and that my forces had captured three out of every five votes cast.

Was it worth the effort? It most certainly was. It gave me an opportunity to share the destinies of the Empire State—a job of great fascination.

There are times when frustrations dim the aura of political life but at those moments, when the spirit is apt to give way, it is worth recalling that few pursuits offer such opportunities for service to country.

**Metropolitan Government***William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor*

## Metro Charter Goes to Voters

### Authorizes New Powers For Cuyahoga County

**VOTERS** of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, will have their third opportunity in 25 years to adopt a county home rule charter on November 3. This will be their first chance to implement the recently completed three-year, \$500,000 study of metropolitan problems in Cleveland and its 61 suburban cities, villages and townships. The survey, by the Cleveland Metropolitan Services Commission, recommended transferring many municipal functions such as libraries, water supply and refuse disposal to a metropolitan government. For the county to fulfill the role of a metropolitan government, adoption of a home rule charter will be required.

Greater Cleveland has the same problems that confront most other large urban areas. Rapidly rising costs of local government, suburban growth, an increased welfare burden, jurisdictional problems resulting from a multiplicity of governmental units, duplication of effort by adjacent municipalities and the need for coordinated transportation, sewage collection and disposal, storm water drainage and urban renewal programs are typical concerns. As in many states, this community is looking to the county as the appropriate unit of government to tackle its metropolitan problems.

For many years a number of Clevelanders have expressed an interest in having Cuyahoga County become the metropolitan government for the community. Forty years ago the Civic League of Cleveland, under the leadership of Mayo Fesler and C. A. Dykstra, advocated an amendment to the Ohio constitution to allow counties to adopt home

rule charters and to permit counties with over 200,000 population to consolidate their county and city governments.<sup>1</sup> Without a home rule charter, an Ohio county government is only an administrative subdivision of the state and is unable to reorganize its structure or to perform municipal functions.

A constitutional amendment was adopted in 1933 which permitted counties to elect charter commissions to draft proposed charters for voters to adopt or reject. In 1934 Cuyahoga County voters elected a commission and adopted its proposal in 1935, but that charter was voided by the Ohio Supreme Court. Proposals to elect charter commissions were defeated in 1936 and 1941. Voters elected a commission in 1949 but failed to adopt the proposed charter in 1950.

In September 1955, the county commissioners rejected a proposal to place the question of a new charter commission on the ballot. However, they promised to reconsider the proposal if and when the need for a charter was supported by the findings of an independent research body.

At about the same time a number of community leaders were laying the groundwork for an organization to study governmental problems that transcend municipal boundaries. The Cleveland Metropolitan Services Commission was formed and an intensive survey begun.<sup>2</sup> By early 1958 some of its results were being published and completion of the research was scheduled for June 1959.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1957, voters adopted an amendment to the constitution modifying the county charter section. Now the constitution provides for either an administrative home rule charter or a municipal

<sup>1</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1919, pages 551-556.

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February, 1956, pages 80-82.

<sup>3</sup> See page 497, this issue.

powers home rule charter. The second type is necessary if the people want their county to exercise powers normally reserved to cities and villages. Adoption of a municipal powers charter in Cuyahoga County requires a majority vote in Cleveland and a majority in all the county outside Cleveland.

Before the 1957 amendment was adopted, a charter also needed a majority vote in a majority of the municipalities and townships in the county. In Cuyahoga County this would permit about 2 per cent of the voters to defeat a proposed charter. This provision no longer applies to counties with over 500,000 population. The 1957 amendment received its margin of victory in Cuyahoga County where it carried by 40,000 votes compared to the statewide margin of less than 33,000.

\* \* \*

It became apparent that if a new Cuyahoga County charter was to be drafted, the charter commission should be elected in November 1958 so its members could use METRO study findings while they were fresh and while METRO staff members were available for consultation. Accordingly, the Citizens League, on June 17, 1958, asked the county commissioners to put the question of a home rule charter commission on the November 1958 ballot and to provide for the election of fifteen charter commission members.

The question, "Shall a county charter commission be chosen?" was answered affirmatively by 65.2 per cent of those voting. This was the largest majority ever received in Cuyahoga County by a county charter question.

The fifteen commission members had an almost unlimited range of choices. They could write an administrative home rule charter to exercise all powers and perform all duties imposed by law on counties and their officers. This type of charter could alter the governmental structure greatly or not at all and could assign municipal powers to the county to

be exercised only if no conflict with a municipal activity resulted. Such a charter would require only a county-wide majority vote for adoption.

The commission could write a municipal powers home rule charter, to provide for the exclusive exercise of specified municipal powers by the county and the succession to municipal properties or obligations. This would permit the county to perform the functions of a metropolitan government, but adoption of such a charter would require majority votes both inside and outside Cleveland.

Two fundamental questions therefore faced the charter commission. Should the charter grant the county certain exclusive powers to manage and provide services like water, highways, poor relief, airports, refuse disposal and sanitary sewerage facilities? What, if any, changes should be made in the structure of the county government? Major differences of opinion on these and similar subjects made compromises necessary.

The proposed charter would give the county exclusive power in the following functions: Sanitary sewage treatment plants and trunk lines, trunk storm drainage sewers, water supply, metropolitan roads and highways, public welfare and poor relief, public transportation, airports and port and harbor facilities, zoological gardens, civil defense, air and water pollution control, refuse disposal, metropolitan parks, public health and metropolitan planning.

Substantial differences of opinion exist between Cleveland and suburban representatives on the inclusion of several of these exclusive powers, particularly water supply. Since Cleveland supplies 98 per cent of the public water used by county residents, suburban leaders insisted this should be a metropolitan function. On the other hand, metropolitan assumption of welfare and relief responsibility was sought by Cleveland leaders to reduce tax burdens on central city residents.

The proposed charter specifies that before the county may exercise any of these powers, preparation of a detailed plan and a three-fifths vote in the county legislature would be necessary. Transfer of the facilities of any municipality to the county would require repayment to the municipality of any tax money expended for capital costs. The charter provides a comprehensive arbitration procedure in event of disagreement on the amount of reimbursement.

Proposed reorganization follows the mayor-council form. Charter commission members believed that only an elected chief executive could supply the political leadership desired in a community of this size, and they provided for a metropolitan executive to be elected on a partisan ballot for a four-year term.

Six of the independent county administrative officials would be eliminated, leaving only the controller and prosecuting attorney to be elected. The charter commission sought to keep the number of boards and commissions at a minimum, specifically providing for only four including a new civil rights commission.

The charter commission compromised on composition of the proposed county legislative body by providing for election of two assemblymen from each of five districts and nine from the county at large, to serve for overlapping four-year terms. Election of the nineteen assemblymen, as well as the executive, controller and prosecuting attorney, would be by partisan ballot following nomination by petition and a partisan primary.

Four of the five assembly districts are composed of a few of Cleveland's 33 wards and from nine to 23 suburban subdivisions. Each includes areas of growing population. The remaining district contains eleven Cleveland wards. It is generally believed that the Negroes, composing 15 per cent of the county's population, will be able to control the representation in this district.

The campaign for adoption of the charter is just beginning. While the outcome cannot be predicted, many observers anticipate approval by a narrow margin in both the central city and the suburbs.

Advocates of the charter have won an impressive list of supporters including the three Cleveland daily newspapers. Other groups who either have supported the charter or are expected to do so include the Citizens League, the CIO-AFL and the Chamber of Commerce. A number of leading Democrats and Republicans are urging approval of the charter as is the Republican candidate for mayor of Cleveland and the Democratic majority leader of the Cleveland city council.

\* \* \*

Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze of Cleveland and his cabinet have publicly stated their opposition. It is generally believed that the negroes of Cleveland will vote heavily against the charter. The usual reason advanced is that their numbers are concentrated within the city of Cleveland and any transfer of governmental authority to the county would dilute their political power. Some suburban officials have indicated opposition — adoption would mean a lessening of their political power.

An interesting change in campaign themes has occurred which may affect the charter vote. While a year ago the achievement of home rule was the emphasis for election of a charter commission, metropolitan government is now the issue. A number of people who supported home rule may be against metropolitan government. In both years the secondary theme has been modernization of the structure of county government. The outcome of the election may be decided by which of these three themes receives the greatest emphasis during the next few weeks.

LYLE E. SCHALLER  
HAROLD M. PEELE

Cleveland Bureau  
of Governmental Research

### ***Virginia Municipalities Report on Consolidation***

The special committee on consolidation of local governments of the League of Virginia Municipalities has submitted recommendations for consideration by the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council. The committee recommends that legislation altering the pattern of local government in the state be adopted with extreme caution. It recognizes the success of the existing system, which includes provision for city and county separation, annexation of urban areas by an impartial court, and incorporation of new towns and the transition of a town to a city.

It notes that: "It may be wise to build legislation around each metropolitan area separately to meet varying needs throughout the state. . . . It is imperative that any new legislation on metropolitan government be limited in its application to the few actual metropolitan areas which do exist, so that the satisfactory pattern of local government elsewhere throughout the state will not be disturbed."

Means of implementing the consolidation of two or more rural counties should be developed by the General Assembly in order to broaden the tax base and foster a more efficient and economical operation of county government.

Enabling legislation to foster arrangements which facilitate intergovernmental cooperation and joint service agreements among local governments both within and without metropolitan areas is advocated.

"The General Assembly should enact legislation . . . to strengthen metropolitan county government in order to better enable the metropolitan counties to meet their problems and provide or secure the necessary services for an urban population. . . . It should be emphasized that such legislation should be limited strictly to the very few urban counties operating under the county manager or county executive form of government in the standard metropolitan areas . . . [and]

### ***Dade Co. Amendments Proposed***

Five amendments to the Metropolitan Dade County Charter will be on the November 3 ballot. Voters will be asked to act on three propositions reducing the size of the metropolitan commission to five, seven or nine members respectively. A "no" vote on all three will indicate a preference for retention of the present eleven-member commission. The three amendments also carry a provision for increasing the annual salary of commissioners from \$6,000 to \$15,000. Two other amendments if accepted would make the sheriff and tax assessor elective officials.

should not be made available to other rural and less urban counties. Such legislation should be recognized as an aid to the eventual transition of such counties from a county to a city."

The committee stressed the need for legislation which would foster consolidation of local governments when approved by the units involved and facilitate the functioning of consolidated cities. It recommended specifically enactment of permissive legislation and if necessary an amendment to the constitution of Virginia "to provide separate taxing districts with graduated tax rates based upon the governmental services and/or the diversified uses of property in the particular tax district within each metropolitan area."

It also recommended that the state constitution be amended "to provide that cities, towns and metropolitan counties operating with the county manager or county executive form of government may levy special assessments upon abutting property owners for capital improvements such as streets, water mains and other

public improvements, public works and benefits in relation to the particular benefits derived therefrom by such abutting property owners. Such action would help relieve the serious financial plight of the cities and urban counties and would provide an equitable means of financing public improvements both within the central city and in the rapidly developing outlying sections of the metropolitan areas."

Finally, the committee expressed the strong opinion that, "in any new legislation, the present general statutes pertaining to annexation and to the right of towns to become cities should not be changed."

It stressed the fact that the state constitution, statutes and court decisions have established and recognized "the policy of placing urban areas under city governments and keeping rural areas under county government" (*County of Norfolk v. Portsmouth*, 186 Va. 1032). We are strongly of the opinion that this well established policy is wise and should remain a continuing ultimate goal."

#### ***Senate Approves Washington Area Development Bill***

Further recognition has been given to the need for meeting problems of the Washington area on a unified metropolitan basis by Senate passage of the Washington Metropolitan Region Development Act (Senate Joint Resolution 42). This resolution declares that all officers and agencies of the District of Columbia government and the executive branch of the federal government shall exercise their functions, duties and powers in such a manner as will best facilitate the coordinated development of the Washington region.

The act further declares that priority should be given to the solution, on a unified basis, of problems of water supply,

sewage disposal, water pollution and transportation. Officers and agencies of the district and federal governments are instructed in the resolution to develop, as rapidly as feasible, specific plans and proposals to implement and carry out the recommendations contained in the final report of the Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems.

#### ***City-County Cooperation Works in Lincoln***

The Lincoln, Nebraska, metropolitan area (Lancaster County) includes, in addition to the city and county, thirteen incorporated villages, eight unincorporated villages, 77 school districts and eight special districts. Recent population estimates show extensive urban growth with the 1958 population estimated at more than 150,000. Resistance to annexation by the city of Lincoln has been apparent.

The Governmental Research Institute, Inc., in Lincoln reports that the "area has shown increasing tendency toward satisfactory solutions of many of the problems inherent between a rapidly expanding city and its surrounding area. The following are some examples of intergovernmental cooperation in the Lincoln metropolitan area:

"(1) Health matters are regulated by the city-county health department; (2) civil defense is controlled through the city-county civil defense office; (3) a city-county planning board has received official approval from both governments; (4) city and county election machinery has been combined; (5) city and county law enforcement officers have working agreements with respect to jail facilities and apprehension of criminals; and (6) there is a possibility of the construction of a joint city-county building."

**County Government***Clyde F. Snider, Editor*

## Port Counties Vote On New Charters

### Three Referenda in Ohio And New York Scheduled

**H**OME rule charters will be submitted on November 3 to the voters of the three counties containing the three major ports on Lake Erie. Erie County (Buffalo), New York, will be the first in that state to vote on a charter since approval in 1958 of the constitutional provision permitting adoption of locally drafted county charters without approval by the legislature.<sup>1</sup> Two Ohio counties, Cuyahoga (Cleveland) and Lucas (Toledo), also are using for the first time revised constitutional machinery.<sup>2</sup> The Cuyahoga County referendum will be on a charter creating a metropolitan government with provision for assignment of a number of exclusive powers to the county or metropolitan government.<sup>3</sup> The Lucas and Erie County charters provide for structural reorganization of county government.

#### Erie County Charter

The proposed charter for Erie County was drafted by the Erie County Survey Committee, composed of nine members of the board of supervisors with Supervisor Lyle J. Tillou serving as chairman. H. Dale Bossert, executive director of the county planning board, was executive secretary. Although this committee had been established by the board of supervisors in 1953 to survey municipal functions and services of the various local units in the county, in May 1958 it was authorized to

prepare a new county charter. The final draft of the charter was approved by the supervisors on August 18, 1959. To become effective the charter must be accepted by two concurrent majorities—approval by a majority of the voters in the 25 towns and a majority of the voters in the three cities voting on the question.

The charter states that among its purposes "are the accomplishment of greater efficiency, economy and responsibility in county government, the securing of all possible county home rule, and the separation of county legislative and executive functions." The 54-member board of supervisors is continued by the charter with its general powers specified, including its powers to enact local laws relating "to the property, affairs or government of the county or any other subject matter of county concern. In the exercise of such power the county may change, supersede or amend any act of the legislature. Such power shall include but be not limited to whatever power is vested in any county in the state of New York or the elective governing body thereof to adopt, amend and repeal local laws granted by any provisions of general laws, special laws, charters, administrative codes, special acts or local laws."

The executive branch of the Erie County government would be headed by the county executive elected for a four-year term (the first executive, to be elected in November 1960, will serve only three years). As chief executive officer and administrative head of the county he will appoint the major county department heads, including the commissioners of finance, health, parks and recreation, public works, personnel, social welfare, planning and the county attorney. All these appointments are subject to confirmation by the board of supervisors. The county clerk, district attorney, sheriff and controller will continue to be elected. The

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, January 1959, page 36.

<sup>2</sup> See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1957, page 590.

<sup>3</sup> For an article on this charter, see page 475, this issue.

elected office of treasurer will be abolished and its duties assigned to the commissioner of finance.

Other appointees of the county executive will be the county hospital superintendent, county laboratory director, community mental health director, traffic safety director, director of civil defense, fire coordinator, county historian, medical director, superintendent of penitentiary and veterans' service officer. These appointments are also subject to confirmation by the board of supervisors.

The charter clearly differentiates between administrative and advisory boards. The latter shall have "no administrative or appointive powers but, when requested by the county executive, shall assist him in the recruitment of candidates to fill a vacant position." Although other advisory boards may be provided by the administrative code, the charter calls for advisory boards for the departments of planning and social welfare and for the county hospital, laboratory and mental health office. The board of health will have power to adopt the county sanitary code. The boards of trustees of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library and the Erie County Technical Institute will continue as administrative boards. Certain other boards established by state law including the board of elections will continue.

The charter specifically states that it does "not transfer, alter or impair any function, facility or power of any city, town, village, school district or other district." Erie County, however, is authorized to contract with any municipality or public authority or combination of local units situated within or adjacent to the county "for the establishment, maintenance and operation of any facility and the rendering of any service which each of the contracting parties would have legal authority to establish, maintain, operate or render for itself."

#### **Lucas County Charter**

The Lucas County charter was drafted by a fifteen-member charter commission

elected in November 1958. Its chairman was John H. McNerney and Willard W. Smith, executive secretary of the Greater Toledo Municipal League, served as research director. The charter was approved by nine of the fifteen members of the commission. Six opposed it because it reduces the number of elective county administrative officers. In order to permit its adoption by a simple county-wide majority, the charter provides that the power of an existing municipality or township would prevail in any conflict with county power. If any exclusive "municipal" powers were assigned the county, the Ohio constitution requires four concurrent majorities in counties of less than 500,000.\*

The proposed charter states that, "Lucas County as it now exists shall constitute a municipal corporation" and that "under this charter, the county shall have all rights and powers of local self-government and home rule as are now or may hereafter be provided or necessarily implied by this charter and by the constitution and laws of Ohio. These shall include, but shall not be restricted to or by, all powers possible for a county to have under the laws of Ohio and all powers that now or hereafter may be granted to municipalities by the laws of Ohio and which accrue to the county by virtue of adoption of this charter."

The charter centralizes legislative and administrative powers in the board of county commissioners, which is enlarged from three to five members elected for four-year overlapping terms. The board is empowered to appoint a chief administrative officer to serve under its direction and supervision. The CAO may act as director of finance and director of personnel.

The charter makes provision for modern accounting, budgeting and purchasing procedures and the installation of the merit system with a three-member per-

\* See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1957, page 418.

sonnel board charged with adoption of a classification plan and the recommendation of personnel rules and regulations and a salary plan for adoption by the county commissioners.

The commissioners would appoint the heads of four operating departments—welfare, institutions, public works and coroner. The commissioners may create additional departments. The engineer (head of public works department) and the coroner would be appointed rather than elected as at present. Other elected officials would be continued as heads of county departments: auditor (department of assessment), clerk of courts (department of court service), prosecuting attorney (department of law), recorder (department of records), sheriff (department of safety) and treasurer (department of treasury).

The county commissioners would appoint a board of health which would mean the consolidation into a single agency of all health districts within the county.

The charter makes relatively minor changes in the structural organization of the county. Its principal contribution is the provision of "home rule" powers for Lucas County which should enable it to meet more easily problems occasioned by urban growth.

W.N.C., Jr.

### ***County Government In the 50th State***

Hawaii, our 50th state, contrasts sharply with Alaska, the 49th, in its approach to local government at the county level. Alaska is interesting because its constitution was written by delegates who were philosophically opposed to counties and because there is no mention of counties anywhere in the document.<sup>1</sup> Hawaii, on the other hand, specifically provides for counties in Article VII of its 1950 constitution. But the uniqueness of Hawaii, and therefore special interest in its case,

lies in the way in which territory-county relations developed before its admission as a state and the likelihood that these same conditions will prevail under statehood though the constitution provides only a vague hint of state-county relations. Article VII declares: "The legislature shall create counties . . . and provide for the government thereof . . . [and] each political subdivision shall have power to frame and adopt a charter for its own self-government within such limits and under such procedures as may be prescribed by law."

County government was established in Hawaii on January 1, 1906, after an earlier act of 1903 had been declared unconstitutional. The act of 1905 created five counties, one of which was the small county of Kalawao, a leper settlement that assumed only part of the powers of the other counties. The other four were the islands of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui and Kauai, together with the islands within three miles of each. In 1907, however, the county of Oahu became the consolidated city and county of Honolulu.

Under the territorial government the four counties have been divided into two classes. The city and county of Honolulu has constituted one class and Hawaii, Maui and Kauai have been in the other. In Honolulu there has been an elective board of supervisors, mayor, sheriff, city and county clerk, auditor and treasurer. In addition, the mayor has had authority to appoint a public prosecutor, a city and county attorney, and a chief engineer of the department of public works, as well as other minor officers for the city and county. The remaining counties, on the other hand, have had an elected board of supervisors, a county clerk, auditor, county attorney, treasurer and chief of police.

Apparently counties in Hawaii were created, in part, to satisfy the demands of Congress at the turn of the century. Certain factors in pre-territorial Hawaii prior

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, April 1959, page 203.

to the organic act of 1900, however, indicated a desire for more centralization. These factors were the physical topography, with the only suitable port being at Honolulu; the plantation system with its private government; the desire to keep control over the multitude of immigrants who came to work on the plantations; the dominance of the hoales (whites of North European origin); and the zeal of missionaries to Christianize the islands. Added to these factors as the territory developed were Republican control, until challenged by the Democrats in the 1950s, and the disfranchisement of orientals until 1952.

Therefore, even though counties were created, they remained subservient to the central government to such an extent that Norman Meller characterized the situation in 1958 as follows: "Hawaii . . . presents . . . an extreme of centralized administration probably unequaled in any state in the mainland." He noted, however, that Hawaiian counties were at the crossroads: education, welfare and health remained territorial functions but the 1957 legislature was controlled by the Democrats who promised more home rule and gave the counties new taxation powers and more freedom from administrative supervision.

Thus, as Hawaii goes from territorial status to statehood, its constitution and recent history seem to promise more county home rule but the constitution also continues the state's control of health, education and welfare. Furthermore, it is questionable whether Hawaiians will overturn more than 50 years' experience under centralized administration. Perhaps a clue to the future lies in the constitutional provision, in Article IX, for statewide control over education under a board appointed by the governor from panels submitted by local school advisory councils.

BRUCE B. MASON

University of Illinois

### ***County Government Eliminated in Connecticut***

Connecticut, by an enactment of the 1959 General Assembly (Public Act No. 152), will join Alaska and Rhode Island as a state without organized county government. This move, which will be effective October 1, 1960, brings to inaction the state's eight counties, all of which have been in existence with their present boundaries for at least 174 years. Connecticut counties had few governmental functions so it is anticipated their demise will be quiet.

Four years ago the legislature removed from the county commissioners their remaining responsibilities for neglected and uncared-for children, conferring that chore on the state welfare department. The remaining functions of Connecticut counties, which consist principally of the operation of jails, providing space for the operation of state courts and providing a system of inspection of weights and measures, are conferred by the 1959 legislation on state agencies.

Three commissioners for each county have been elected by the General Assembly and, because of the Democratic majorities in the present Assembly, which could select two for each county, the majorities in the closing-out commissions are Democratic, as they have not been for decades. Their offices and those of the county treasurers, who are appointed by the commissioners, will go out of existence with the counties. County sheriffs, the only popularly elected county officers, are mentioned in the constitution and are to be retained as officers of the state courts. The sheriffs' duties as jailers are conferred by the act on a state jail administrator appointed by and serving at the pleasure of the directors of the state prison. The jail administrator may appoint deputy jailers and other jail employees and one considered possibility is that sheriffs may be appointed as deputy jailers. For the first time all Connecticut sheriffs are Democrats.

The employees of the counties, which are without merit systems, are to be covered into the state personnel system without examination but subject to a probationary period. The state undertakes to preserve the pension rights of employees and retirees.

The counties have been making appropriations to local agricultural extension activities and three have provided buildings for extension centers. The act gives these buildings to the University of Connecticut along with a continuing annual appropriation for their operation and maintenance. The state further commits itself to pay the amounts which the counties are now paying for these local extension activities.

County governments have been financed by a tax on their towns, prorated in dollars among the towns by a legislative formula, and by state grants. At the close of the counties' business the state will take over their property, obligations and bonded debt, paying a rebate to the towns of the net liquid current assets. The discontinuance of the county tax on the towns would have created a windfall for the towns but the act undertakes to offset this by discontinuing the distribution to the towns and cities of certain alcoholic beverage fees. While the amounts roughly offset each other, the towns are affected variously.

Termination of Connecticut counties has been seriously discussed for ten years and they have had few defenders except for the beneficiaries of their patronage. With the Democrats in charge for the first time within the memory of living men, there was some inclination to retain the counties in the hope of enjoying the patronage for a while. The state administration and Democratic leadership, however, appeared to decide to take the credit for the reform and, incidentally, place some new county employees in the state service. Doubts were diminished by protecting every just claim and leaving existing arrangements unchanged as far as possible.

Going out with the counties is the unusual statutory arrangement by which state representatives and senators from a county sit as an appropriating and general supervising body for county government.

KARL A. BOSWORTH  
University of Connecticut

#### ***Illinois Reforms J. P.'s, Provides County Sales Tax***

The adoption of a permissive county sales tax and a reorganization of the justice of the peace system were among the more significant enactments in the area of Illinois county and township government passed by the 1959 General Assembly.

The sales tax (technically a retailers' occupation tax) can now be levied by a county board in the unincorporated areas of the county after adoption of an enabling ordinance or resolution. The rate of the tax is not to exceed one-half of one per cent. The tax will be collected and enforced by the state Department of Revenue at the same time as it collects the state sales tax. (The rate of the latter tax was raised this year from 2½ to 3 per cent.) The permissive county tax is similar to the municipal sales tax enacted in 1955. Although it is expected that the constitutionality of the new levy will be challenged, several counties, including Cook, have already adopted enabling ordinances.

The reorganization of the justice of the peace system will have two main effects: it will reduce sharply the number of justices and it will place them on a salaried basis abolishing the old fee system. The new plan provides that the county board shall divide each county into at least three, and not more than five, contiguous and compact "justice districts." A slightly different pattern will be established for Cook County. At least one justice is to be elected from each district, with larger districts being assigned additional justices up to a maximum of five.

One estimate is that the new plan will reduce the number of justices in the state from 4,000 to approximately 700. Salaries of the justices will be fixed by the county board within a statutory minimum of \$600 and maximum of \$12,000.

One effect of the reorganization is that justices will no longer be township officials. A companion measure removed them as members of the town board of auditors. Another companion measure provides that justices shall not engage in any activities relating to the "collection of debts, judgments or any other kind of obligation." Justices will continue to be elected for four-year terms. Sitting justices will finish their present terms and the new plan will not go into effect until 1961.

The reorganization is an aftermath of the recent unsuccessful Illinois campaign for constitutional judicial reform. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has called the new plan "a notable step forward in the administration of justice."

SAMUEL K. GOVE

University of Illinois

### New York Implements Home Rule Amendment

The New York legislature in its 1959 session enacted legislation implementing the county home rule amendment approved by the state's voters in 1958.<sup>1</sup> Boards of supervisors in counties outside New York City are empowered to prepare county charters, or to establish charter commissions to perform that function, and to submit such charters to local voters for approval. In the event that the board of supervisors fails to act in the matter the county voters, by petition and favorable vote at a referendum election, may require the board to establish a charter commission.

The legislation makes possible an ex-

<sup>1</sup> See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1958, page 404; also the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, January 1959, page 36.

tensive reorganization of county governmental structure, permitting creation or abolition of offices and the making of county officers, except judges and members of the board of supervisors, either elective or appointive. Transfer of functions is permitted between county officers or between the county and various other units of local government.

Though New York counties are not yet given home rule powers comparable to those enjoyed by the state's cities, the amendment and legislation together constitute a major step in the direction of making available to counties forms of government tailored to their individual needs.

### California Interim Committee Reports

An interim committee of the California Assembly (lower house) on municipal and county government, established in 1957, has reported its recommendations for modernizing the state's statutes governing noncharter counties.<sup>1</sup> Eleven of the state's 58 counties have adopted charters under the home rule provision of the California constitution, while the remaining 47 operate under the state general law.

The committee's recommendations, which have as their main purpose making available to noncharter counties certain provisions for administrative centralization now found only in county charters, are concerned principally with (1) authorizing appointment of various county officers now required by statute to be popularly elected and (2) authorizing provision for a professional county administrator.

Present statutes require the election in

<sup>1</sup> *Modernization of Noncharter County Law*. Final Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government. Assembly Interim Committee Reports, 1957-1959, Vol. 6, No. 7. Sacramento, the Assembly, 1959, 19 pages.

noncharter counties of ten county officers in addition to members of the board of supervisors (the constitution requires election of the county superintendent of schools). Evidence presented to the committee indicates widespread lack of voter interest in the choice of these officers, with a large proportion of incumbents running for re-election without opposition. It is therefore recommended that the board of supervisors be empowered to provide by ordinance that the following be appointed by the board: county clerk, public administrator, tax collector, auditor, treasurer, recorder and coroner. It is further recommended that the board of supervisors by resolution, or the people through initiative petition, be authorized to submit to the voters for their decision an ordinance empowering the board to appoint the sheriff and the assessor. Of the ten officers now required by statute to be elected only the district attorney would be required to remain elective. A set of mandatory minimum qualifications for county officers should be established by the legislature.

The committee recommends that the board of supervisors by resolution, or the people through the initiative, should have power to submit to the voters the issue of establishing by ordinance the office of county executive, the powers and duties of such office to be prescribed by the legislature. The need for a chief executive officer is attested by the fact that a substantial number of noncharter counties already, without express statutory authorization, have provided for such officers by ordinance or resolution of the board of supervisors. When so provided, however, an officer can act only as agent of the board and has no statutory authority of his own. Under these circumstances, he usually enjoys a lesser degree of managerial authority and a lesser degree of permanency (since the office has been created and can be abandoned by the board of supervisors) than do chief administrators in charter counties.

## Grand Jury Studies County Organization

In Contra Costa County, California, a structure of county government committee of the grand jury, under the chairmanship of Edward W. Mertens of El Cerrito, has made an extensive study of county government organization and issued two reports, both of which have received grand jury approval.

The first is concerned with over-all organization of the county government and recommends adoption of the manager plan. The county has an appointive administrator provided for by ordinance of the board of supervisors but the committee found that the legal authority of the administrator is not commensurate with his responsibilities. Under the orthodox manager plan, the manager would have authority conferred upon him by statute or charter in matters where the administrator now can act only in an advisory capacity to the board.

Though the change suggested might be effected either through amendment of the general state statutes under which Contra Costa County now operates or by adoption of a home rule charter, the committee envisages serious difficulty in bringing about the preparation and adoption of a satisfactory charter. It concludes that at least for Contra Costa County the preferable procedure is through statutory amendment and local legislators are urged to support the necessary legislation. Adoption of the manager plan would result in making appointive many county offices now filled by popular election.

If manager government is not established, legislation should be enacted empowering boards of supervisors to establish minimum qualifications for elective officers. These recommendations parallel in considerable measure those made<sup>1</sup> by an interim committee of the California Assembly for noncharter counties generally.

<sup>1</sup> See page 485, this issue.

The second report of the committee deals with personnel administration. At present, though the board of supervisors is, by law, the governing body of the county, authority to administer personnel matters rests instead with the civil service commission. It is recommended that many administrative activities now vested in the commission, including recruitment, job classification, establishment of pay scales and employee dismissal, be transferred to the board of supervisors or, preferably, to the county administrator.

The civil service commission would then become an advisory body charged with such functions as studying proposed changes in the merit system and making recommendations thereon, advising the board of supervisors and the personnel director on problems concerning personnel administration, and hearing appeals from orders for employee suspension, demotion or dismissal. In performing the latter function, the commission would merely submit its findings to the board of supervisors or the county administrator, with final action being taken by that agency. Appointive department heads should be withdrawn from civil service jurisdiction and serve instead at the pleasure of the appointing officer or agency.

#### ***Uniformity Requirement Continues in Wisconsin***

Wisconsin's constitution contains one of the most rigid requirements in the nation for uniformity in county government—one which, as interpreted by the courts, permits differential treatment of Milwaukee County only. Over the years, amendments have been introduced in the legislature on various occasions to repeal this requirement and permit the provision by law of alternative governmental forms; and twice

such proposals have received initial legislative approval only to meet defeat when coming up for the second legislative passage required in that state for constitutional amendments.

Such a repeal proposal was again introduced in the assembly in 1959, but failed of passage even in the house of its origin. The proposal would also have removed the requirement that sheriffs, coroners, registers of deeds, district attorneys and all other county officers except judicial officers be chosen by popular election. Had the proposal gained the necessary acceptance by the legislature and the voters, the manager plan of government apparently could have been offered to Wisconsin counties along with other optional forms.

#### ***Executive Considered For Indiana County***

Consideration was given by the 1959 Indiana General Assembly to provision of a principal administrative officer for Marion County (Indianapolis). A Senate bill which originally provided for manager government was passed only after it had been amended in committee to make the chief administrator elective. The bill then died in House committee.

#### ***More Medical Examiners In Michigan***

Under the state's 1953 optional law, the Michigan counties of Berrien, Calhoun, Isabella and Marquette have abolished their elective coroners, substituting qualified medical examiners. This brings the total number of Michigan counties having medical examiners to nineteen, including Wayne County (Detroit) and covering 65 per cent of the state's population.

R.S.C.

**Proportional Representation***George H. Hallett, Jr., and  
Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors*

## N. E. A. Considers P. R. and P. V.

### *Amendment to Be Voted On at 1960 Convention*

AT ITS annual convention of several thousand delegates, held in St. Louis June 27 to July 4, the National Education Association took action to present to its next convention, to be held next summer in Los Angeles, the following proposed addition to the standing rules of its Representative Assembly: "All elections of officers shall be conducted by preferential voting with a single transferable vote."

The officers now elected by the Representative Assembly are a president-elect (who succeeds automatically to the presidency after one year), a treasurer and two members each year of the executive committee. The directors are chosen by the state delegations, which are free to choose their own method of election.

Applied to the first two officers the single transferable vote (or Hare system) would assure a majority choice as between the two leading candidates if more than two were running.

As applied to executive committee members it would be the system of proportional representation used for various purposes in the United States, Ireland, Canada and Australia, though its application would be severely limited by the smallness of the number to be elected at any one time. This application would be similar to the former elections of two members of the British Parliament each by Oxford and Cambridge Universities, where some distinguished minority as well as majority members were elected in this way before separate university constituencies were abolished. A candidate who could get more than a third of the dele-

gates behind him would be sure of election, and normally more than two-thirds of the delegates, not just a majority or plurality, would elect the successful candidates.

The amendment was proposed by the N. E. A. bylaws and rules committee, with the backing of the new president, W. W. Eshelman of Pennsylvania, whose state organization, the Pennsylvania State Education Association, has used the plan for its annual elections for some 35 years.

## Tasmania Holds P. R. Election

Tasmania's continuous experience with the Hare system of proportional representation entered its second half-century with elections for its House of Assembly on May 2, 1959.<sup>1</sup> The plan was adopted in 1907.

The Labor party obtained 71,535 first-choice votes (44.5 per cent) and gained seventeen seats (48.6 per cent); the Liberal party obtained 66,005 first-choice votes (41.1 per cent) and sixteen seats (45.7 per cent); independents, 14,549 first-choice votes (9.0 per cent) and two seats (5.7 per cent); and the Democratic Labor party, 8,510 first-choice votes (5.3 per cent) and no seats. Communist party candidates polled 144 first-choice votes (0.1 per cent). No Communist candidate has ever been elected in Tasmania, although a Communist party nominee has been elected to the Parliament of Queensland, the only Australian state using single-member districts and plurality voting for choosing its state legislature.

As the Labor party, with seventeen seats, is being supported by one of the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the 1955 general elections, see NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1955, page 320.

independent members, it continues in office, thus starting its second quarter century as the government party. It has held office continuously since June 1934, during which time representation by the Liberal party opposition has generally been very strong.

One feature of the election was the weak showing made by the Democratic Labor party, an active minor party which has been contesting elections in Australia in the last four years. This party fared more poorly under P. R. conditions in Tasmania than in many parliamentary elections in other Australian states using single-member systems. In Queensland, with plurality voting, this party's equivalent (called the Queensland Labor party) achieved its greatest success. In this state, as well as in the states of Victoria and Western Australia, all of which use single-member districts, the intervention of the D. L. P. was decisive in causing the defeats of the then ruling Labor party governments. The D. L. P. originated as a break-away group from the right wing of the Labor party and is considered to draw its support largely from Roman Catholics.

\* \* \*

In the elections 110,912 voters, or 69 per cent, voted first choice for winning candidates. Most of the remaining 49,831 voters, or 31 per cent, saw their second or third choice elected. Studies of past elections show that only a few voters elect no one under Tasmania's P. R. system. In the recent elections, for example, 139,386 voters (86.7 per cent) had their votes counted for winning candidates. Only 14,861 ballots (9.3 per cent) were left at the end of the transfers with defeated candidates, and only 6,496 votes (4 per cent) did not count finally for any candidate. Of this relatively small number which failed to elect anyone, further inspection (not revealed in the election returns) would show that large numbers of ballots remaining with runner-up candidates or technically classified as "ex-

hausted" do in fact indicate preferences for candidates elected by other ballots.

This election was the first to apply the recently adopted seven-member election districts. Hitherto, six-member districts had been used. The act providing for the election of seven from each of the existing five election districts became law on April 9, 1959. The change represented enactment of a recommendation of a bi-party select committee of the Tasmanian Parliament which, in October 1957, after a thorough investigation of various electoral systems, forcefully endorsed P. R. and recommended that it be retained.<sup>2</sup> The five federal House of Representatives constituencies were kept as the districts and the total membership was increased from 30 to 35.

In the debate in the two houses on this alteration, only two or three speakers expressed support of single-member districts. The chief argument against the use of seven-member electorates was that this would involve an increase in the size of the House. The various stock arguments used against P. R., such as encouraging splinter parties and a multi-party system, were not heard in the parliamentary debate. These arguments are shown in Tasmanian experience to be groundless speculations. For example, the two-party system is much stronger in Tasmania than in any other Australian state or in most states or countries overseas.

The theoretical and practical importance of using seven- instead of six-member districts was well illustrated by the 1959 elections, which resulted in a somewhat more accurate reflection of the wishes of the voters than the former plan would have given. Use of six-member districts, by giving the majority and minority the same number of seats in several districts, would probably have

(Continued on page 506)

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1957, page 593.

**Taxation and Finance***Jackson Phillips, Editor*

## New Jersey Devises Rail Aid Plan

### Would Tap Turnpike Surplus Revenues

THE state of New Jersey has taken initial steps to adopt a plan which would grant tax relief to commuter railroads by tapping surplus revenues of the New Jersey Turnpike. The plan is bound to attract attention in other states by its very ingenuity, although its adoption in New Jersey is by no means certain. Thus far it has been approved by the legislature in special session and by the governor but it still requires approval by the people of a constitutional amendment in November and by two-thirds of the present bondholders of the New Jersey Turnpike.

Under the plan New Jersey would utilize surplus revenues of the New Jersey Turnpike, that is, revenues over and above the Turnpike's annual operating costs, interest charges and stated amortization costs, to grant aid to localities. This aid would be in lieu of taxes which the localities now impose on commuter railroads. By removing such taxes the local governments would indirectly be granting assistance to the railroads and in turn would be compensated by payments from the state. The state would incur no financial burden, since it would be employing funds which under present requirements are used to accelerate retirement of Turnpike bonds.

In order to use the surplus the state would put its guarantee behind the turnpike bonds, which at the present time are payable solely from net revenues of the turnpike itself. Thus, it is necessary to amend the state's constitution in order to put the state's guarantee behind the bonds and to amend the agreement between the

bondholders and the Turnpike Authority. While the estimates of the surplus available under the plan vary, most observers seem to feel that from \$130 million to \$140 million would be about the amount over the next ten years.

This approach to solving commuter railroad difficulties has much to commend it and on the face of it is one of those rare devices that seems to make everyone satisfied without disturbing anyone. No new taxes need be levied, the motorist will continue to pay the toll he would have to pay anyway, the bondholder gets a state guaranteed bond in return for a revenue bond, the railroads get relief from taxes, and the local governments receive as much in revenues as they would under existing conditions. Moreover, it employs the rationale which has been widely advocated in recent years, that is, using moneys derived from imposts on automobiles to assist needy mass transit systems. It has been argued that only by such means can cities as we know them be saved and further decentralization and deterioration be prevented.

Actually, however, a major obstacle stands in the way of implementing the plan, aside from whether it can get by the voters in November. That obstacle is the present bondholders of the Turnpike Authority. Whether the two-thirds approval can be obtained from them is a question. The Turnpike has been a marked financial success, so that the state's guarantee behind the bond will not add much to its intrinsic value in the eyes of many. But the real difficulty is said to arise from those bondholders who bought the bonds in the expectation of early retirement. Early retirement of bonds, which under the plan advocated would not occur, would bring a bondholder a substantial capital gain both from the difference in price paid for the bond and par value and from the premium that would be required

for advance redemption. Under the plan the bonds would be retired on a minimum schedule which would not call for accelerated retirement.

## Michigan Tax Crisis Resolved

After a seven-and-a-half-months deadlock, Michigan has settled on its new tax levies. The House and Senate overwhelmingly approved a tax package increasing the state's sales tax from 3 to 4 per cent with some smaller increases in business taxes. Governor G. Mennen Williams said he would sign the bills reluctantly. The solution was described by some Democrats as a compromise but the Republicans said that they had got their way except for the increases in business taxes. Governor Williams had favored a personal income tax and corporation profits tax.

The bill ending the stalemate was passed 73 to 8 in the House and 20 to 7 in the Senate. The plan had been worked out in a Senate-House conference committee and is expected to produce about \$128.5 million annually. The sales tax increase alone is expected to produce \$120 million per year. The action to solve Michigan's tax crisis came after months of squabbling in the legislature. During this time the state suffered from recurring shortages of cash and several times had to delay wage payments to state employees. The governor had described the situation as a "scandal to the whole nation and a danger to the very prosperity and order of the state."

The legislation calls for increased business taxes of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mills per dollar on the current  $6\frac{1}{2}$  mills on a dollar business activities tax. This is levied on adjusted business receipts, which are gross receipts less certain statutory deductions. It also provides for new tax credits to unprofitable and low-profit enterprises and an increase in exemptions that are estimated to

exempt 10,000 small concerns. Banks will pay about \$1.5 million additional in taxes as a result of an increase of ten cents per \$1,000 on the intangible tax on bank deposits. Utility companies will also pay an additional half-mill business activities tax above the present tax of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mills per dollar. Existing taxes are expected to bring in about \$312 million this year.

Michigan business has long been critical of the state's business tax structure, alleging it is harmful to the business climate. Much of this criticism has been aimed at the administration of Governor Williams, although Michigan's recent tax increases have been formulated primarily by the Republican dominated legislatures that have prevailed throughout the governor's ten and a half years in office.

## Taxes of All Governments Total \$98 Billion

Taxes collected by all governments in the United States in their fiscal years ending in 1958 totaled \$98.3 billion, or about the same as in the previous year, according to a report by the Bureau of the Census. A decline of \$1.8 billion in federal tax revenue was largely offset by a \$1.5 billion increase in collections of state and local governments. Total tax yields amounted to about \$568 per capita in 1958 as compared with the 1957 per capita yield of \$579. While below the 1957 figure, the 1958 per capita yield was higher than that of earlier years.

The highest amount of taxes was collected by the federal government, 69 per cent of total collections, and the chief base of tax collections was income, 59 per cent of the total. On a per capita basis the federal government collected \$393 and state and local governments \$175. The federal government's collections per capita were derived \$200 from individual income taxes, \$116 from corporation income taxes, \$65 from sales taxes and customs and \$11 from all other taxes and licenses. State and local gov-

ernment taxes per capita were derived \$81 from property taxes, \$57 from sales taxes, \$10 from individual income taxes, \$6 from corporation income taxes and \$22 from all other taxes.

Taking account of all other revenue sources as well as taxes, governmental revenues in the fiscal year 1958 amounted to \$130 billion, as compared with \$129 billion in the previous year. Miscellaneous general revenue, charges for services, interest, sale of property, special assessments, fines, etc., totaled \$14 billion in 1958. Revenue of social insurance systems amounted to \$14 billion. Gross sales revenue of publicly operated utilities and liquor stores amounted to \$4 billion.

The federal government paid \$4 billion to state governments and \$395 million to local governments during fiscal 1958. The states made payments to local governments totaling \$8 billion, of which about \$5 billion was for school purposes.

The \$46 billion federal expenditure for defense represented about four-tenths of all public spending for general governmental purposes in 1958. Public expenditure for education amounted to about \$17 billion, approximately one-seventh of the total. The third item of importance in the total of government spending was for highways and streets, for which per capita expenditures amounted to \$50, as compared with \$266 for national defense and \$96 for education.

### **Wisconsin Seeks Personal Property Tax Relief**

Governor Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin has asked for the repeal of the personal property tax in its present form "because it is the most inequitable tax of all." He told a newly appointed tax study commission that he wants a thoroughgoing review of state tax problems and tax possibilities and that, while not wanting to impose his own views on them, the personal property tax must go.

He said that the levy now raises about \$70 million a year, mostly from merchants, manufacturers and farmers, but that it is unfairly applied, difficult to administer and harmful to Wisconsin business growth. Legislators have hesitated to repeal it because of its productivity, he said, but at least there should be an attempt made to levy it more fairly.

A constitutional amendment would be needed to make legal the assessment of personal property at a different level from real estate. Professor Harold Groves of the University of Wisconsin advised the commission that other states have legalized separate assessment ratios for personal property taxation, Ohio being the most recent to do so. He explained that some assessors in Wisconsin not only vary their assessments but also agreed that a law approving such practices would not be valid under the Wisconsin constitutional uniformity of taxation clause.

### **House Rejects City Income Tax Deduction Bill**

The House of Representatives recently refused to pass a bill calling for deduction of city income taxes from pay checks of federal employees. The bill came up under a rule requiring a two-thirds vote for passage. The vote was 251 to 133, five less than required. The bill could be brought up again under regular procedures requiring only a majority vote.

Opponents of the bill argued that this was an attempt to collect city payroll taxes from persons who work at a federal installation in a city but live elsewhere. As offered the bill would affect federal employees in cities of 50,000 or more which now have income tax withholding provisions. State and city governments supported the measure. The Treasury Department endorsed it as it applied to cities of 75,000 or more but said that for smaller populations the administrative burden would be too great.

**Citizen Action***Elsie S. Parker, Editor*

## Huge Vote Saves Manager Plan

### Des Moines Citizens Spurn Mayor-Council

**D**ES MOINES citizens, on June 23, 1959, defeated a move to change their form of government and endorsed their council-manager plan by a substantial majority. This climaxed a spectacular climb in popular approval of the system they had voted in ten years earlier. On April 30, 1949, Des Moines changed to the council-manager plan by a bare margin of 810. Now, after nine years of experience, the city has given it an overwhelming vote of confidence by a margin of 11,452.

Proponents of change were shrewd in choosing their time for action. There were many ripples of dissatisfaction over a variety of issues ranging from fluoridation of the city's water supply and tying up of dogs to more deep-seated resentment of increased expenditures and taxes. Recent annexations that increased the size of Des Moines almost 20 per cent created problems of expanded city service which were not yet met. The recent bad winter left many streets in poor condition. Many supporters of council-manager government were less than satisfied with the quality of recent council membership. And finally, the petition for change was presented at a time which made a summer election inevitable.

This was not the first time the council-manager plan had been threatened. In the fall of 1955 two candidates, strongly backed by labor, were elected. Both expressed dissatisfaction with the operation of the manager plan. In the spring of 1956, after the appointment of a new fire chief, one of these councilmen moved to fire the manager. The motion was car-

ried eventually and in November 1956 Des Moines lost a fine manager of wide experience and abilities. During the next summer, the mayor, who seemingly had joined the two new councilmen in a voting bloc, presented the so-called Mills amendments which, as finally adopted, seriously weakened the appointive powers of the manager. In the meantime, the corporation counsel and city solicitor, who questioned the legality of the amendments, were dismissed. The amendments were repealed in December 1957.

Thus it came as no great surprise when a group of men, most of whom were disappointed office seekers with no apparent organized backing, circulated a petition asking for a change to a mayor-council plan with thirteen aldermen elected by wards and two at large. This group, known as the Representative Government Association, solicited support for over a year and seemed to have difficulty getting the required number of signatures.

The actual presentation of the petition to the city council on May 11, 1959, was a surprise and only then did manager backers organize. A small group of businessmen initiated the formation of a temporary citizens' group to combat this threat. They invited every organization in town to send a representative to an organizational meeting. On May 22 the Citizens for Council-Manager Plan was created by 85 persons representing 38 interested organizations ranging from the Home Builders of Des Moines to Monroe Pre-school Mothers. An executive committee was elected consisting of a prominent and civic-minded insurance man, a former county attorney and a representative of the Des Moines League of Women Voters.

The League of Women Voters had been deeply concerned for some time by the impending threat and unwilling to underestimate the strength of the opposition.

Its former workshop on council-manager government was revived in February and mailed to the membership a study of the problem. The filing of the petition found the league informed and "steamed up" and the workshop was prepared to continue providing research information. The league was ready to cooperate fully with the newly formed Citizens for Council-Manager Plan.

The Citizens soon organized into a functioning group. Professional public relations advice was obtained. A temporary office was opened. Office help was recruited, all on a voluntary basis. A policy committee represented various sections of town and segments of the population. Labor backing was sought but, although labor this time did not actually oppose the council-manager plan, the Citizens were unable to obtain its endorsement. A well organized finance drive based on solicitation by trade groups proved successful and was supplemented by contributions from individuals. A heavy absentee ballot was anticipated and the services of a full-time processor and notary public were volunteered.

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The organization of precincts for effective house-to-house contact was a task that loomed large. Two members of the League of Women Voters recruited workers from all parts of town. Thirty-six out of 73 precincts were thoroughly covered with captains organizing their own block workers. All other precincts had some degree of coverage—no area was purposely neglected. An impressive job of education was accomplished as an important by-product of recruitment.

Although the opposition took advantage of every possible source of dissatisfaction, it presented three primary issues:

(1) The council had become weighted with people who lived on the west side of town. The alderman plan had a potent appeal to disgruntled and resentful residents of the east and north sides, who

felt neglected, and to residents of the newly annexed south side, who felt ignored. They were told they were being deprived of representation and that only ward-elected aldermen would get them "fair" treatment. They were told that the city was controlled by west side businessmen and the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune*, that only "more representative" government could achieve for "little" people a voice in the affairs of the city.

(2) An appeal was made to the very human and widespread resentment of higher taxes. The council-manager plan was inaugurated in Des Moines after a long period of shameful neglect. Nine years were not sufficient to meet all the needs of the city but tremendous strides had been taken. Inevitably, this progress, in combination with rising costs, more than doubled city expenditures. Proponents of change promised to "hold the line" even at the expense of "extravagant" plans for the future. They even hinted, in last minute scare headlines, that keeping the manager plan meant future city sales and payroll taxes, an impossibility under Iowa law.

(3) The association tried to build up resentment of "dictatorship" by "imported experts." Administrative officials most in the public eye—the planning director, public works director, traffic engineer and the manager himself—were not local people and this fact was used to stir up hometown pride.

The Citizens for Council-Manager Plan were determined to keep their campaign to the basic issues. One alarming problem stemmed from the fact that the wording of the ballot was set by state law and made it necessary to vote "no" to retain the council-manager plan. This psychological handicap called for an intensive yet simple educational campaign. Wide use of sample ballots and repetition of the slogan, "vote 'NO' for no change," seemed to clarify the procedure.

In combating the promise of "more

representation," the Citizens emphasized that each voter under the present plan could vote for the entire council whereas a system of ward representation would limit his voice to the selection of only a small portion of the council. Despite the fact that a weekly labor paper had been printing propaganda for the alderman plan, labor apparently had no unified position nor did it feel the need for more representation.

The Citizens gave wide publicity to the list of accomplishments of the manager plan. Surprising even its supporters, the list was extensive and indicated that the "neglected" areas had fared well in their share of improvements. In comparing costs of city government in Des Moines with those of several mid-west cities with the alderman plan, it became obvious that the cost rise in Des Moines had been reasonable in light of its impressive progress.

The presence of "experts" in the administration was admitted without apology. The desirability of having trained administrators who carry out the policy of elected councilmen was pointed out in contrast to the proposal that amateurs be elected to administer the complicated affairs of the city.

\* \* \*

While the Citizens' campaign was strong in its defense of the council-manager plan, it was equally strong in its conviction that the proposed substitute was a poor one. It attacked mayor-council government with numerous ward-elected aldermen as outmoded, discredited and susceptible to graft, vice and corruption. The absence of organized vice and crime in Des Moines was attributed in part to the manager plan and the proposed change was exposed as a threat to the city's enviable position. A telling device was the reproduction of newspaper headlines of 1907, when Des Moines threw out mayor-council-ward government because of widespread corruption in the "city hall gang" of that day.

Radio spots, participation in both radio and television public service programs, paid newspaper advertising in both large daily papers and in local weeklies, public rallies and door-to-door visits by block workers armed with literature and facts—all contributed to the education and arousing of the voters.

Some employers mailed out explanatory letters to their employees, others sent postcards clarifying the wording of the ballot. Late in the campaign, a mailing to every household in Des Moines went out under the name of the League of Women Voters.

The use by the opposition of half-truths, misrepresentations and inconsistencies made debate a rather fruitless endeavor and this technique was avoided when possible. Although at times the broadsides distributed by the Representative Government Association descended to the level of name-calling, in general the campaign was surprisingly free of personality attacks.

The final effort of the Citizens organization was an all-out campaign to get out the vote. The entire precinct organization went into operation following up by phone its earlier house calls. A motor pool was available to service all calls for transportation and proved more than adequate. A somewhat random but intensive phone campaign was put into action at midday when the vote looked none too favorable.

The last phone call was made five minutes before the polls closed and finally the city sat back and awaited election returns. The wait was not a lengthy one—after only a few minutes of suspense the landslide trend became obvious. Des Moines citizens were clear and strong in their endorsement of their city government.

There was much satisfaction in the analysis of election returns. In all precincts but three the position of the council-manager plan had improved since its adoption. The vote was at a record level for a special city election.

But perhaps the more gratifying fact was the number of people who volunteered their services. Thirty women gave up Memorial Day weekend to prepare the kits used by 1,039 women and men who knocked on doors, selling voters with their enthusiasm and information. Fifty drivers stood by on election day ready to provide transportation; 41 speakers, from clergymen to union members, gave voice to their support in public meetings and on radio and television; 136 employers sent out letters to employees; 378 contributors backed the campaign with financial support; 80 volunteers helped precinct workers by ringing phones on election day. Over 1,900 individuals put heart and conviction into an effort that was truly a citizens' campaign.

But Des Moines is not alone in being encouraged by the results of the election. Said the *Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette*, "Believers in sound municipal government everywhere will take heart from the resounding vote of confidence given city management in a Des Moines referendum."

MRS. GEORGE FRIEDL  
Des Moines League of Women Voters

#### **Charter Action Committee**

Forty residents of Mountain Lakes, New Jersey, have organized a Charter Action Committee with a view to securing a new charter for the community. First task of the group was the nomination of a slate of five candidates for a charter commission, to be placed on the November ballot along with the referendum by which borough voters may authorize a study of their charter. Nominees include a former mayor, a recent president of the Board of Education, an advertising director, a member of the League of Women Voters and one of the town's longtime residents.

#### **Gird for Campaign**

The Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association has been at work during the summer months preparing for the November election when the city will choose its nine councilmen and five school committeemen by proportional representation. James Vorenberg has been appointed campaign director, and Donald Spencer, a former CCA president, assistant campaign director. The latter is writing a series of articles to describe to Cambridge citizens the city's progress in the last seventeen years—since adoption of its council-manager—proportional representation charter—and the role of the Civic Association in that progress.

#### **Primary Still Issue**

Although the Miami Beach (Florida) primary election law was "knocked down by the voters in June by a close 56 majority vote,<sup>1</sup> it does not appear to be 'out,'" reports the Miami Beach Taxpayer's Association in its *News Letter*. Several groups, spearheaded by the Young Democrats and the Jaycees, are interested in reviving the law and are circulating a petition to place the question on the ballot in November. Meanwhile, the Taxpayer's Association has sponsored a meeting of community leaders to discuss general revision of the city's election law including restoration of the primary.

#### **Seek Award Candidates**

Citizens of Greater Chicago are seeking candidates for "five or so awards of merit to citizens (other than elected office holders) and organizations for outstanding civic service." Both member organizations and individuals may make nominations for the awards, which will be presented at the group's annual meeting October 15.

<sup>1</sup> See the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, July 1959, page 358.

**Researcher's Digest***Patricia H. Shumate, Editor*

## Metro Commission Completes Study

### Cleveland Group Makes Final Recommendations

THE Cleveland Metropolitan Services Commission has completed its study of the governmental functions of the area and published the last of its 28 studies. Its final report, *Prologue to Progress* (1959, 87 pages, \$2.00), is a summary of the findings of the two-and-a-half-year project.

The objectives of the commission—METRO—were to explore methods of insuring "that (1) metropolitan services and facilities are handled with a reasonable degree of dispatch and efficiency, (2) maximum returns from each local tax dollar are realized by the people of metropolitan Cleveland, and (3) the governmental structure for the metropolitan area is effective in providing a focus of leadership for the entire community."

In this report METRO observes, "The challenge of the metropolis in simplest terms is one of reconciling these two interests—of unity and interdependence in the one dimension and of individuality and separatism in the other."

Various METRO study groups separated essentially local problems in each of the major functional fields from those which need direction from larger units of government. "For it is through such an approach that the dual character of the metropolitan area—diversity and unity—can be taken into account in meeting our governmental needs."

A brief review of the study groups' reports discloses that "in no two fields are the problems exactly alike; nor do the facts of the case argue for complete 'metropolitanization' of governmental ac-

tivities. Rather, we see that the approach which appears best is one that treats each functional area separately and provides for its administration on the metropolitan and local levels in terms of the particular characteristics of the service involved. In this fashion, it is both reasonable and proper to suggest metropolitan administration of public health, public welfare and public libraries. At the same time, it is equally understandable that transportation, refuse collection and disposal, storm drainage and sanitary sewerage, land use and planning, police and fire have aspects which are metropolitan as well as local in character. Responsibility for administration of these functions should, therefore, be divided between the two levels of government. And, finally, there are two services—public recreation and public education—where the particular conditions of the moment require predominantly local administration."

\* \* \*

The metropolitan governmental problem is a "paradox of too many governments, but not enough government." This situation has two important implications at the metropolitan level—"the lack of adequate governmental machinery by which the area as a whole can focus attention on community-wide problems and the fact that many of our governmental services require metropolitan financing and administration."

METRO examines, for metropolitan government possibilities, the county, the general-purpose metropolitan government, the special district and the intergovernmental contract. Each is considered not only for its utility in providing urban services but also as a means of meeting the over-all metropolitan governmental problem.

The report outlines requirements for local and metropolitan government which

were developed by the Study Group on Government Organization. It was felt that the metropolitan organization set forth would "meet not only the need for a means of administering metropolitan governmental activities but, more importantly, provide an effective agency through which metropolitan issues and problems could be resolved." The existence of a metropolitan government would not, of itself, relieve the many smaller governments from their responsibilities to provide local services. Solving the problem of governing the metropolitan area means that each local unit must be viable, in terms of both its governmental and fiscal capacities.

METRO recognizes the problems of the emerging Northeast Ohio urban region and suggests steps which may be taken in the immediate future to keep abreast of the region's needs.

The report concludes, "There now remains the task of translating ideas into tangible accomplishments. The practical details that give substance to clearly defined decisions and result in concrete improvements must now be worked out. The foundation for this action has been laid not only in the reports of METRO but in the whole history of civic action and governmental achievements in Cuyahoga County for the past 30 years. As we move forward, this becomes a prologue to progress."

Also recently released were METRO's last four studies. *Land Use Planning and Control in Metropolitan Cleveland* (Study Group on Land Use and Development, 1959, 29 pages, 75 cents) is based partly on the consultant report to the Study Group, *Land Use and Planning in the Cleveland Metropolitan Area*, by Seymour Z. Mann and Charlotte B. Smart (1959, 133 pages, \$5.00). The study group report discusses general principles for metropolitan planning, land use planning in the Cleveland area and several organization proposals.

*Public Education in Cuyahoga County*

(Study Group on Public Education, 1959, 68 pages, \$1.50) is a research product of the METRO staff and outside consultants. It outlines the organization, financing and diversities in educational services in the county.

The nine existing library districts are the subject of *Public Libraries in Cuyahoga County*, Staff Report to Study Group on Public Libraries, by Arlene A. Theuer (1959, 64 pages, \$1.50). The staff presents three recommendations, one of which is that all public libraries "should be consolidated as soon as practical."

In *Government Costs: Questions for Community Decision* (Study Group on Governmental Cost Analysis, 1959, 59 pages, \$2.00) some of today's major financial problems and possibilities for their solutions are outlined. This report is drawn partly from three other staff reports: (1) *The Cleveland Metropolitan Area—A Fiscal Profile*, by Seymour Sacks, Leo M. Egand and William F. Hellmuth, Jr. (1958, 65 pages, \$3.00); (2) *Problems of Financial Management in Cuyahoga County*, by H. Odell Walby and Arlene A. Theuer (1959, 155 pages, \$5.00); and (3) *Financing Governments in a Metropolitan Area—The Cleveland Experience*, by Seymour Sacks, William Hellmuth, Jr., with Leo Egand and others. This study is to be published by The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, in March 1960.

## More Urban Renewal Urged for Boston

While in the past few years Boston's urban renewal program has progressed, the rate of renewal activity still is being outstripped by the rate of decay, writes the Boston Municipal Research Bureau in *Charting the Future of Urban Renewal* (1959, 50 pages).

The bureau covers, among other things, the magnitude of blight in the city and the funds available for renewal. "The

problem of blight is a major city concern and substantial additions to the city's tax base are desperately needed. The Boston tax base, in fact, has shrunk by many millions of dollars during the past ten years. While these conditions create a pressing need for renewal, they at the same time greatly limit the city's capacity to pay for it. Sliding property values and lack of substantial new building diminish the city's ability to raise the necessary renewal funds."

Noting this "financial tightrope," the bureau presents eleven recommendations designed to strengthen Boston's renewal program.

#### **Students Study New York Waterfront**

*The Port of New York and the Management of Its Waterfront*, edited by Martin B. Dworkis (Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service, New York University, 1959, 130 pages) was prepared by a group of graduate students in the public administration program of the Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service of New York University during 1958-59.

The study includes discussions of the history of the port and its various characteristics, the governmental agencies involved in the activities of the port and the attitudes of persons interested in the waterfront's operations.

#### **Bureau Studies Courts, Consumer Protection**

The West Virginia University Bureau for Government Research has recently published two studies, *Judicial Selection in West Virginia* by Claude J. Davis and *Protection of Consumers in West Virginia* by Donald E. Hayhurst (Morgantown, 1959, 48 pages each).

Mr. Davis discusses the organization of West Virginia courts, selection of judges in other states, qualifications for the office, the question of whether judges

should be elected or appointed, and the relation of politics to the courts. He also reports the replies of various state judges to a recent questionnaire on judicial selection.

Mr. Hayhurst's study is concerned with the general nature of consumer problems, aids and state laws. He concludes, "Earning an income is only part of earning a livelihood; the second step is exchanging income for livelihood. It is here that consumers need help and an opportunity is presented for state government to make one of its greatest contributions to the welfare of all its citizens."

#### **Michigan Bureau Issues Two New Reports**

*Integration of Police and Fire Services in Lincoln Park, Michigan*, and *A Survey of Selected Operations of the Lansing School District* have been released by the Citizens Research Council of Michigan (Detroit, 1959, 49 and 44 pages).

The first study describes how the police and fire departments in Lincoln Park are meeting their problems, and how integration of the two units might afford greater service for the same cost.

In the second report the council surveys budgeting, purchasing, and other operations of the Lansing School District, and presents its findings and recommendations.

#### **Forms of Government**

Forms of municipal government and their strengths and weaknesses are explored in *How Cities are Organized*, by James E. Larson, the first in a series of Citizen Information Reports published by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama (University, 1959, 38 pages). Each type of government is explained in reference to its usage in Alabama. However the manager plan, "the most advanced . . . yet devised for the governing of American cities," is not authorized by state law and any experience with it in Alabama is in combi-

nation with another form. The author calls for revision of the state law to enable cities to experiment with the "twentieth century plan for the government of twentieth century cities" that are increasing in number as the state moves from an agriculture-oriented society.

ANNE K. STICH

### **Planning for the Community**

*Community Planning—Wisconsin* (Bureau of Government, University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, February 1959, 39 pages) points out that nearly seven out of ten people now live in urban areas in the state and that the percentage is increasing yearly. "Unless a community . . . has a wise plan for the way land is to be used for both public and private purposes, it can become a conglomeration that is costly to maintain and depreciating in value." The need for efficient governmental organization, land use planning and control, traffic planning, service and utility development and capital budgeting is emphasized.

A.K.S.

### **County Officers School**

For many years the University of North Carolina's Institute of Government has been conducting schools for county officials. Its 1959 *School for Newly Elected County Commissioners in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, April 1959, 275 pages) is a summary of the recent school proceedings for this group. At the meetings such topics as county revenue, state public welfare programs, public purchasing and county planning and economic development were covered.

### **Political Research Grants**

The Eagleton Foundation of Rutgers University has announced that it will award grants from \$500 to \$4,000 for research in political science and politics beginning next year. The research supported by the program will be published

by a foundation-sponsored series called "Continuing Studies in Practical Politics."

### **New Research Groups**

The University of Missouri has recently established a Bureau of Government Research with George Y. Harvey as director. The first monograph of the bureau is *The Standing Committees of the Missouri General Assembly*, by Robert F. Karsch (Columbia, May 1959, 34 pages).

The Maryland Municipal Technical Advisory Service is a new division of the Bureau of Governmental Research in the College of Business and Public Administration, University of Maryland. The service will provide, upon request, free advice to Maryland municipalities in the fields of organization and management, engineering and public works, municipal ordinance and charter drafting, public information and reporting. The director is Milton B. Millon, formerly city manager of Aberdeen, Maryland.

The University of Rhode Island is establishing a governmental research bureau. The new organization will study state and local problems and conduct training courses for government employees.

### **New Newsletters**

In August the University of Massachusetts Bureau of Government Research published the first issue of its *Bulletin* featuring biographical sketches of public officials, articles about current readings, position changes, and news notes. It is being distributed to state and local government leaders, and to others upon request.

*Metropolitan Area Planning* is the title of the *Newsletter* of the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, first issued for the months of May-June. The publication will carry articles about Northeastern Illinois, public improvement programs, local and regional planning, and related court decisions and legislation.

# Books in Review

## Politics

POLITICAL LIFE. Why People Get Involved in Politics. By Robert E. Lane. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1959. 374 pp. \$7.50.

This solid volume seems to exhaust the range of past studies made of American voters and their behavior since *Middletown*, sorting out and classifying their findings in an orderly array with an infinitude of *ibid.*'s and *op. cit.*'s fringing the pages. The author spent two years or more on the task with the aid of the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Social Science Research Council.

The voter is cross-sectioned in 66 ways with all past objective evidence of other workers—polls, studies, etc.—duly adduced and supplemented with some logical hypotheses. Often the findings simply confirm and document familiar assumptions, sometimes there are surprises and mysteries, and there is plenty of good penetrative thinking. There is realization of the curiously small motivation of American voters these days by division on issues of public policy as distinguished from instinctive clannishness, but there is strange neglect of the effects of long ballots, and the polls that have disclosed the voters' unawareness of even the names of the minor candidates they vote for are not reported at all.

The author, having shown that the college-bred and the well-to-do run the country and that the uneducated and poor have less than proportionate influence, concludes that a rising proportion of the educated and unharried provides the prospect for elaboration of effective participation.

R.S.C.

THE STUDY OF LOCAL POLITICS. By William H. Riker. New York, Random House, 1959. 126 pp. 95 cents.

This publication is an excellent handbook for those engaged in, or planning to

do, field research in politics. It was written for undergraduates but could also be useful to graduate students, professors and anyone gathering information on current political events.

The author discusses in a straightforward style feasible field research projects including the type of analysis entailed, who should be interviewed, how to begin, conduct and record the interview, as well as statistical tests for the reliability of assertions commonly made about politics.

Selected and annotated bibliographies on local politics, election data and other sources of statistical material in the appendices are an additional feature of the book.

P.H.S.

## Law Review

NIMLO MUNICIPAL LAW REVIEW. A Record of Municipal Legal Experience in 1958. Edited by Charles S. Rhine and Brice W. Rhine. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1959. 597 pp. \$10.

This informative volume—the 22nd in an annual series, formerly *Municipalities and the Law in Action*—is the exceptionally well edited proceedings of the 1958 annual conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers (NIMLO). It is such a workmanlike job of organization and arrangement, in fact, that all those involved with municipal problems will do well to keep this volume within ready reach.

For example, of particular interest are the reports of the committees on such timely topics as federal-city relations, municipal revenues from federally-owned property, urban renewal, city-state relations, inter-municipal cooperation, traffic and parking, zoning and planning, water problems and the like.

There are many additional subjects which will provide excellent starting points for municipal officials confronted

for the first time with vexing matters ranging all the way from atomic energy, civil defense, airports and civil liberties to public records and municipal employee problems.

Of special interest is the inclusion of the discussions of five panel workshops, two of which bear upon that universal and perennial problem—increasing municipal revenues.

JOHN B. WIRT  
*Assistant Director*

Joint Committee on  
Continuing Legal Education

## Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

### *Administration*

COMMITTEE CLEARANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS. By William E. Rhode. East Lansing, Michigan State University, College of Business and Public Service, Bureau of Social and Political Research, 1959. 78 pp.

### *Assessing*

EQUALIZATION OF PROPERTY ASSESSMENTS. Washington 6, National Education Association, Committee on Tax Education and School Finance, January 1958. 31 pp. 40 cents.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL SCHOOL FOR MASSACHUSETTS ASSESSORS, August 27-29, 1958. Amherst, University of Massachusetts, Bureau of Government Research, in cooperation with (Massachusetts) Department of Corporations and Taxation and Association of Massachusetts Assessors, 1959. 65 pp.

### *Atomic Energy*

CITIES AND ATOMIC ENERGY. By Charles S. Rhyne, Brice W. Rhyne and Charles A. Dukes, Jr. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1959. 53 pp. \$3.00.

### *Auditors*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST COUNTY AUDITORS' INSTITUTE, May 21-22, 1959. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, in cooperation with County Auditors' Association of Texas, 1959. 52 pp.

### *Budgets*

THE BUDGET AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, April 1959. 56 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

MICHIGAN BUDGET FACTS. Trends, Comparisons and Proposals. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, May 1959. 18 pp.

### *Crime*

A REPORT ON CHICAGO CRIME FOR 1958. By Virgil W. Peterson. Chicago 3, Chicago Crime Commission, July 1959. 64 pp.

### *Criminal Law*

SOME CHANGES IN CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE Suggested by the North Carolina Police Executives Association for the Consideration of the 1959 General Assembly of North Carolina. Collected and Analyzed by Roy G. Hall, Jr., and L. Poindexter Watts, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, April 1959. 89 pp.

### *Defense*

GUIDE TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958. By Theodora E. Carlson and Catherine P. Williams. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1959. 36 pp. 30 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

***Driver Licenses***

THE IMPROVEMENT OF WRITTEN DRIVER LICENSE EXAMINATIONS THROUGH TEST ANALYSIS. By B. J. Campbell. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, July 1959. 57 pp. \$2.00.

***Education***

EDUCATION AND FREEDOM. By H. G. Rickover. New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1959. 256 pp. \$3.50.

***Elections and Voting***

ELECTION STATISTICS IN MARYLAND 1934-1958. By Evelyn L. Wentworth. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1959. 83 pp. \$2.00.

SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIONS. Governing Provisions of Constitution and Statutes. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1959. 102 pp.

***Executive Council***

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF MAINE IN DECLINE. By Clement E. Vose. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, April 1959. 25 pp.

***Federalism***

COURTS AND THE COMMONPLACES OF FEDERALISM. By Walter V. Schaefer. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1959. 18 pp.

***Government Manual***

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL 1959-1960. Washington 25, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Office of the Federal Register, 1959. v, 797 pp. \$1.50. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

***Housing***

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1958. Wash-

ington 25, D. C., National Capital Housing Authority, March 1959. 39 pp.

RENTAL HOUSING. Opportunities for Private Investment. By Louis Winnick. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958. xxiii, 295 pp. \$8.50.

THE RIGHTFUL PLACE OF SUBSIDIZED PUBLIC HOUSING. By D. B. Mansur. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, 1959. 6 pp.

***Incorporation***

INCORPORATION PRACTICES. Final Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government. Sacramento, Assembly of the State of California, 1959. 22 pp.

***Intergovernmental Relations***

HOW SIX MICHIGAN COUNTIES ARE SOLVING COMMON PROBLEMS. Detroit 26, Supervisors Inter-County Committee, August 1959. 20 pp.

***Law***

1958 ANNUAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN LAW. New York, New York University School of Law, 1959. x, 852 pp. (Apply Oceana Publications, Inc., 80 Fourth Avenue, New York 3.)

***Legislation***

1959 LEGISLATION OF INTEREST TO CITIES AND OTHER LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATE OF ALASKA. Palmer, League of Alaskan Cities, June 1959. 23 pp.

SUMMARY DIGEST OF STATUTES ENACTED AND PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED TO THE ELECTORS INCLUDING TABLE OF SECTIONS AFFECTED. California Legislature, 1959 Regular Session. Compiled by Ralph N. Kleps. Sacramento, California State Printing Office, 1959. 486 pp.

SUMMARY OF 1959 LEGISLATION, GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1959. xix, 108 pp. \$3.00.

***Libraries***

LIBRARIES—CENTRAL LUCAS COUNTY. Toledo 4, Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions, 1958. 20 pp. Maps.

***Litter Laws***

LITTER LAWS. New York 16, Keep America Beautiful, 1959. 34 pp.

***Metropolitan Areas***

METROPOLITAN AREA PLANNING CONFERENCE, Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, Chicago 3, the Commission, 1958. 34 pp.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE URBAN COUNTY CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY OFFICIALS, March 15-18, 1959.<sup>1</sup> Washington 6, D. C., National Association of County Officials, 1959. 152 pp. \$3.00.

***Municipal Government***

CITY-FEDERAL RELATIONS. Proceedings of the American Municipal Congress, Boston, November 29-December 3, 1958. Washington 6, D. C., American Municipal Association, 1959. 114 pp.

CITY PROBLEMS OF 1959. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors, Los Angeles, July 13-15, 1959. Edited by Harry R. Betters, Washington 6, D. C., the Conference, 1959. ii, 137 pp. \$2.50.

THE FIRST TWO YEARS UNDER OUR NEW CITY CHARTER, May 27, 1957—May 27, 1959. A Progress Report on Omaha City Government. By A. V. Sorensen, Omaha, City Council, 1959. 36 pp.

REPORT ON THIRD CONFERENCE ON MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION, November 1958. Boston, Administrative Services Department, 1959. 105 pp.

25TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON CITIES. Port Angeles, June 10-12, 1959. Seattle 5, the Association, in cooperation with Univer-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this Congress see NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, July 1959, page 368.

sity of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, July 1959. 33 pp.

***Municipal Insurance***

SURVEY OF LIABILITY INSURANCE CARRIED BY NORTH DAKOTA CITIES AND PARK DISTRICTS. Bismarck, League of North Dakota Municipalities, July 15, 1959. 7 pp.

***Natural Resources***

FLORIDA'S FRESH WATER LAKES. By Ney C. Landrum, Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1959. 37 pp.

***Pay Plans***

THE PROS AND CONS OF LONGEVITY PAY PLANS. By Robert D. Krause, Chicago 37, Public Personnel Association, 1959. 41 pp. \$2.50.

***Planning***

METROPOLITAN DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA, PLANNING CONFERENCE. June 30-July 2, 1958. Miami, County Manager's Office, 1959. 60 pp.

***Public Welfare***

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIGENT MEDICAL CARE IN HAWAII. By Jess H. Walters, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1959. 58 pp.

ADMINISTRATIVE SURVEY OF THE GENESEE COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, June 1959. 62 pp.

MEDICAL CARE FOR WELFARE RECIPIENTS—CALIFORNIA. By Margaret Greenfield, Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, April 1959. vii, 215 pp.

THE PUBLIC WELFARE DIRECTORY 1959. Edited by Loula Dunn, Chicago 37, American Public Welfare Association, 1959. 440 pp.

SERVING THE SMALL COMMUNITY. The Story of United Community Defense

Services. By Reginald Robinson. New York, Association Press, 1959. 127 pp. \$2.50.

#### *Revenue Bonds*

REVENUE BONDS FOR STATE PARK AND RECREATION AREA DEVELOPMENT. Report on Their Use and Features. By Ernest E. Allen. Washington 5, D. C., The National Conference on State Parks, January 1959. 103 pp. \$1.00.

#### *Service Charges*

SANITARY SERVICE CHARGES IN TENNESSEE. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, July 1959. 96 pp. \$1.00.

#### *Sheriff*

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF OFFICE OF SHERIFF. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, January 1959. 28 pp.

#### *Streets and Highways*

THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY PROGRAM. By Louis W. Prentiss. An Address before The Municipal Forum of New York. New York, the Forum, February 6, 1959. 16 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, E. F. Hutton & Co., 61 Broadway, New York 6.)

LIMITED ACCESS HIGHWAYS. Bibliography. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, May 1959. 13 pp.

STUDIES OF HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT AND GEOGRAPHIC CHANGE. By William L. Garrison, Brian J. L. Berry, Duane F. Marble, John D. Nysteen and Richard L. Morrill. Seattle, University of Washington Press, in cooperation with The Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Commerce and the Washington State Highway Commission, 1959. xvi, 291 pp. \$7.50.

#### *Taxation and Finance*

FISCAL AND POPULATION DATA FOR UNITS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN METROPOLITAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN COUNTIES INCLUDING COMPARISONS AMONG URBAN, SUBURBAN AND RURAL

AREAS. Albany, New York State Department of Audit and Control, 1959. 42 pp. Tables.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON STATE TAXATION OF INCOME FROM INTERSTATE COMMERCE. By John Dane, Jr. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, June-July, 1959. 12 pp. 50 cents.

STAFF REPORTS TO THE INDIANA COMMISSION ON STATE TAX AND FINANCING POLICY. Volume I: The Sales Tax, Indiana Property Taxes, The Net Income Tax, Federal-State Fiscal Interrelationships in Indiana. Volume II: Business Taxation in Indiana. Edited by Robert J. Pitchell. Indianapolis, the Commission, February and April 1959. 295 and 71 pp. respectively.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL DATA—1957. Concord, New Hampshire Economic Growth Survey Committee and State Planning and Development Commission, May 1959. 10 pp.

SUMMARY OF CITY GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1958. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, July 1959. 10 pp. 10 cents.

SUMMARY OF GOVERNMENTAL FINANCES IN 1958. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, August 1959. 19 pp. 25 cents.

SURVEY OF FINANCES OF MUNICIPALITIES IN HARRIS COUNTY 1958 FISCAL YEAR. Houston 2, Tax Research Association, August 1959. 16 pp.

SURVEY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCES IN HARRIS COUNTY 1957-58. Houston 2, Tax Research Association, August 1959. 15 pp.

TAX EXEMPTION ON STATE AND LOCAL BONDS SEEN IN JEOPARDY. Small Group in Congress Readyng Attack. (Reprint) By Harry L. Severson. New York, *The Daily Bond Buyer*, June 29, 1959. 4 pp.

TAX LIMITS AND TAX LEAKAGES. By Mabel Walker. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, April-May 1959. 16 pp. 50 cents.

**TAX RATES IN VIRGINIA CITIES.** By Walter Stoneham. Richmond 19, League of Virginia Municipalities and the University of Virginia, Bureau of Public Administration, 1959. 29 pp.

**TAXABLE PROPERTY VALUES IN THE UNITED STATES.** Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1959. iv, 145 pp. \$1.00. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

#### **Traffic Safety**

**GUIDE TO NIGHTTIME HIGHWAY SAFETY.** Cleveland 13, Street and Highway Safety Lighting Bureau, 1959. 23 pp.

#### **Training for Public Service**

**METROPOLITAN DADE COUNTY CAREER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAM.** Formal Policy Statement. Miami, Dade County Department of Personnel, December 1958. 34 pp.

#### **Transportation**

**A STUDY OF TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION IN METROPOLITAN DADE COUNTY 1958.** Miami 35, Dade County Traffic and Transportation Department, April 1959. 54 pp. Illus.

#### **Urban Development and Renewal**

**A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL IN PHILADELPHIA.** Philadelphia 3, Housing Association, April 1959. ix, 142 pp. \$2.00.

**THE FINANCIAL AND FISCAL IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN GROWTH.** By George W. Mitchell. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August 1959. 6 pp. \$1.00.

#### **PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION**

(Continued from page 489)

created an electoral injustice by giving the smaller of the two major parties as

much representation in Parliament as the larger party.<sup>8</sup>

If seven-member districts had been used in the two previous elections the government party, which had obtained more than 50 per cent of the first-choice votes on each occasion, would have won twenty to fifteen. In the recent election, however, support from the voters for government candidates dropped to 44.5 per cent.<sup>4</sup> Although two independents won seats at this election, thereby preventing either major party from obtaining a majority in Parliament, the experience of past elections shows that in nine cases out of the last ten state elections, one of the two major parties would have received an absolute majority of seats if seven-member districts had been in operation.<sup>5</sup>

GEORGE HOWATT

Research Scholar  
University of Tasmania

<sup>3</sup> A comparison of election results with what the outcome would have been with six seats to fill instead of seven is contained in an article by the writer, "Seven-Seat Electorate Defended," *Hobart (Tasmania) Mercury*, June 4, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> A sudden intrusion of hotly controversial issues concerning the federal Parliament occurred in the last several weeks preceding the Tasmanian election. Though not related to Tasmanian state politics, the chief issue (which was violently denounced by the press and public in Tasmania and throughout Australia as an "outrageous salary grab" by members of the federal Parliament) helped to cause a falling off in the vote for the two major parties.

<sup>5</sup> Reasons for the superiority of the Tasmanian P. R. system in general and of seven-member electorates in particular are noted in a monograph by the writer, *Democratic Representation under the Hare-Clark System*, Tasmanian Parliamentary Paper No. 22 of 1958. Government Printer, Hobart. 30 pages. (In Tasmania, the term "Hare-Clark" is used to denote their particularly refined form of the Hare system of P.R.)

## Purdy, Pioneer Tax Reformer, Dies

Lawson Purdy, fourth president of the National Municipal League, 1915 to 1919, died August 30 at his home in Port Washington, New York, two weeks before he would have reached the age of 96.<sup>1</sup>

A noted authority on taxation, zoning and assessment of real estate, Mr. Purdy is widely credited with having pioneered assessment and zoning methods which became recognized as standard when he was vice chairman of the City Commission on Building Districts and Restrictions in 1916.

Partly because of his devotion to tax and other reforms but chiefly, according to close friends, because of his great influence in government circles, Mr. Purdy declined to continue the practice of law because of the certainty that clients would retain him for his connections. He was president of the New York City Department of Taxes and Assessments under three mayors from 1906 to 1917.

Other activities included secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, president of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, of the National Conference on City Planning and of the Russell Sage Foundation, and general director of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.

He was a recipient of awards from the American Society of Planning Officials, American Institute of Plan-



ning and the Regional Plan Association.

Mr. Purdy was active in League affairs as early as 1904 when he was appointed chairman of a Committee on Municipal Taxation. He was one of the principal speakers at the dedication of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, League headquarters, on December 2, 1955.

### Fruin-Colnon Award Judges Are Named

A panel of ten judges has been appointed to choose the winner or winners of the Fruin-Colnon Awards, sponsored jointly by the League and the Fruin-Colnon Contracting Company of St. Louis to recognize significant contributions to the understanding and solution of the problems of urban and metropolitan areas.

The judges are Frederick L. Bird, former director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee; Winston W. Crouch, University of California; Irving Dilliard, editorial writer, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*;

Also George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion; Patrick Healy, Jr., executive director, American Municipal Association; Mrs. John G. Lee, past president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Matthias Lukens, assistant executive director, Port of New York Authority; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University; and E. E. Schattschneider, Wesleyan University.

The Fruin-Colnon Awards will be presented at the National Conference on Government in Springfield, Massachusetts, in November.

<sup>1</sup> See also page 452, this issue.

# All-America Contest Jury Chosen

George H. Gallup, chairman of the League's Council and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will serve again this year as foreman of the All-America Cities awards jury. The awards are made annually by the League and *Look Magazine*.

Other members of the jury, which will hear the spokesmen for the 22 finalist cities on November 16 and 17 during the National Conference on Government in Springfield, Massachusetts, are:

Grace B. Daniels, president, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Dr. Anna L. Rose Hawkes, president, American Association of University Women; Harry J. Krusz, former manager of internal affairs, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mark S. Matthews, former president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce;

Also, Willard V. Merrihue, president, Effective Citizens Organization and manager, community and business relations, General Electric Company; Vernon C. Myers, publisher, *Look*; James M. Osborn, Yale University; Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Henry Toy, president, National Citizens Council for Better Schools; Donald H. Webster, director, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, and Arnold S. Zander, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.



George H. Gallup

## Two Correspondents Named for Review

Appointment of two additional correspondents of the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW is announced with this issue. They are:

Norman N. Gill, executive director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Milwaukee, and president of the Milwaukee Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration, who previously had served as chief of the Municipal Reference Library of that city.



Karl M. Schmidt, Jr.



Norman N. Gill

Karl M. Schmidt, Jr., associate professor of political science at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, who also is faculty adviser for the Albany Graduate Program in Public Administration. Dr. Schmidt previously taught at Union College and Johns Hopkins University and served as research consultant to the New York State Department of Audit and Control.

## Cornelius Honored

John C. Cornelius, League Council member and president of the American Heritage Foundation, has received an award for his "contribution to public life" from the Young Men of Minnesota, an organization of young businessmen interested in political action.

## Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

### Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1959) .....	.25
Charts: Council-Manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-Council Form (14½ x 22"), 50 cents each, set of three .....	1.00
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1958) .....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1959) .....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1959) .....	.05
Comments of Labor Union Leaders in Council-Manager Cities (mimeo- graphed), 6 pages (1959) .....	.10
P. R. [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955) .....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1958) 1.00	
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1958) .....	1.00
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.50)	

### Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) .....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) .....	.75
Model City Charter, 172 pages (1941) .....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953) .....	1.00
Model County Charter, 109 pages (1956) .....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 46 pages (1951) .....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 38 pages (1954) .....	1.00
Model Municipal Revenue Bond Law, 31 pages (1958) .....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 60 pages (1954) .....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law, 73 pages (1955) .....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) .....	.75
Model State Constitution, 63 pages (1948) .....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 40 pages (1954) .....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957) .....	1.00

### Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946) .....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1957) .....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952) .....	3.50
Coroners—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 102 pages mimeographed (1959) .....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 82 pages (1958) .....	2.00
Compilation of the 45 Direct Primary Systems, 55 pages (1958) .....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1957) .....	1.00
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 447 pages (1954) .....	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 40 pages (1959) .....	.50
New Era, New Thinking—Transition to Metropolitan Living, by Luther Gulick (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW) 8 pages (1959) .....	.15
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955) .....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) .....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940) .....	.25

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## National Municipal League

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# WANTED

The National Municipal League urgently needs copies of its 1900 publication

## A Municipal Program

**Report of a Committee of the National Municipal League, Adopted by the League, November 17, 1899, together with Explanatory and Other Papers. Macmillan, 1900.**

The League will pay \$5.00 for each volume received.

The League also needs copies of the volumes listed below, comprising its "National Municipal League Series," published by D. Appleton and Company from 1911 to 1919:

City Government by Commission, Clinton Rogers Woodruff  
The Regulation of Municipal Utilities, Clyde Lyndon King  
The Initiative, Referendum and Recall, William Bennett Munro  
The Social Center, Edward J. Ward  
Woman's Work in Municipalities, Mary Ritter Beard  
Lower Living Costs in Cities, Clyde Lyndon King  
The City Manager, Harry Aubrey Toulmin, Jr.  
Satellite Cities, Graham R. Taylor  
City Planning, John Nolen  
Town Planning for Small Communities, Charles S. Bird, Jr.  
Excess Condemnation, R. E. Cushman  
Municipal Functions, H. G. James  
A New Municipal Program, Clinton Rogers Woodruff  
Experts in City Government, E. A. Fitzpatrick

The League will pay \$2.50 for each of these volumes received.

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